The Hidden Landscapes of the Holocaust in Late Twentieth Century Britain.

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Abstract.

This thesis investigates the memorial landscapes of the Holocaust in late twentieth century Britain. By using a variety of methodological and theoretical techniques it reconstructs the biography of the mnemonic sites that seek to represent the Holocaust in the British landscape. It argues that these landscapes are structured by a number of discourses which construct the Holocaust as apart from the histories and the geographies of British people. The first is the heroic myths that pervade British society about the role of Britain during the Second World War. The second in the ontologies of Anglo-Jewry within the assimilationist framework of British society. This has produced landscapes which can be described as 'hidden'. The mnemonic sites in Britain that commemorate the Holocaust are in 'out-of-the-way' places and spaces which in turn reinforces the notion that the Holocaust is not something that the people of Britain need to consider as relevant to contemporary society. It also examines the way in which the memorial's relationship with its surrounding location is crucially important in the making of meaning, both for the memorial itself and for the surrounding rural or urban fabric. It argues that an active engagement with the landscape can be used to reconnect the spatial and temporal histories of particular mnemonic sites to explore the way in which the Holocaust is relevant to past and contemporary British social relations.

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Rabbi Hugo Gryn
1930-1996

Author's Declaration

This work is solely that of the author. The views expressed within are those of the author and not of Cheltenham and Gloucester College of Higher Education or the University of Bristol.

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All photographs taken by myself unless otherwise stated.

Abbreviations.

ANCCS	Association of Nazi Concentration Camp Survivors
BCC	British Council of Churches
CCJ	Council of Christians and Jews
ERDF	European Regional Development Fund
HET	Holocaust Educational Trust
HMC	Holocaust Memorial Committee
HMF	Holocaust Memorial Foundation
IWM	Imperial War Museum
JEEP	Jewish East End Project
JC	Jewish Chronicle
JSG	Jewish Socialist Group
LMJL	London Museum of Jewish Life
MJEE	Museum of the Jewish East End
MJM	Manchester Jewish Museum
WCC	World Council of Churches
WIZO	Womens' International Zionist Organisation
YVC	Yad Vashem (UK) Committee
ZMC	Zygielbojm Memorial Committee

Preface

The Szmul Zygielbojm Memorial Plaque

> Jewish Worker's Bund leader, Representative to the Polish Parliament-in-Exile Szmul 'Artur' Zygielbojm 1895-1943 took his life in protest at the world's indifference to the Nazi extermination of the Jews lived *here* 1942-1943
>
> Jewish Worker's Bund leader, Representative to the Polish Parliament-in-Exile Szmul 'Artur' Zygielbojm 1895-1943 took his life in protest at the world's indifference to the Nazi extermination of the Jews lived *nearby* 1942-1943
> (Two plaque designs for the Zygielbojm memorial. Emphasis added).

This preface introduces a number of themes that are present within issues of memorialisation of the Holocaust in Britain. It takes as its subject the memorial plaque to Szmul Zygielbojm who committed suicide in 1943 to protest about what he saw as the inactivity of the Allies with respect to the attempted murder of European Jewry which was as its height at that time. In reconstructing the biography of the memorial it highlights the ways in which British memory of the Holocaust is far from homogenous, and is cross cut with issues of religion, politics, class, ethnicity, and gender.

The Life of Szmul Zygielbojm.

Szmul Zygielbojm joined the Bund (the Jewish Socialist Party in Poland) and quickly advanced within the movement, being elected to the central committee, and representing the Jewish trades union in the Executive of the Federation of all Trades Unions in Poland. He was elected to the town council of Warsaw in 1927. After a brief spell in Lodz, Zygielbojm returned to Warsaw at the outbreak of the Second World War. With the fall of the city he was appointed the representative of the Jews under Nazism and smuggled out of Poland by the Bund with orders to obtain help for the Jews from the Allied Governments. He became a member of the London-based Polish government in exile in 1942 where he attempted to bring the plight of European Jewry to the attention of

the Allied leaders. After the military failure of the April 1943 Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, Zygielbojm committed suicide on the 12th May 1943, by turning on the gas in his flat (Hilberg 1995, 223). His death was to be his final attempt to rouse the Allies from their apathy. His final letter detailed his reasons for the suicide.

> The responsibility for the crime of murdering all the Jewish population in Poland falls, in the first instance, on the perpetrators, but indirectly it also burdens the whole of humanity, the peoples and governments of the Allied states that, so far, have made no effort towards a concrete action to put a stop to this crime....By my death I wish to make the strongest possible protest against the passivity with which the world is looking on and permitting the extermination of the Jewish people. I know how little human life is worth today, but as I was unable to do anything during my life, perhaps by my death I shall help to break down the indifference of those who have the possibility now, at the last moment, to save those Jews still alive, from certain annihilation. [1]

The Campaign for a Memorial Plaque.

The unveiling of the plaque on the 12th May 1996, the 53rd anniversary of Zygielbojm's suicide, was the culmination of a three year campaign on the part of the Szmul Zygielbojm Memorial Committee (ZMC). The origins of the campaign were multiple, although all can be traced from outside of the Anglo-Jewish 'Establishment' and more specifically to the Jewish 'Left'. The main stimulus came from a speech given by Majer Bodanski, an active member of the Polish Bund and also a Jewish Socialist Group (JSG) member, at the annual Warsaw Ghetto Uprising commemoration in 1992. The ceremony is organised by the JSG and is therefore distinct from the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising ceremony

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[1] For a discussion of Zygielbojm's actions and motives see Blatman, 1990.

organised by the Board of Deputies of British Jews. [2] Bodanski spoke about Zygielbojm's life and death. This in turn inspired David Rosenberg, also a JSG member, to raise the issue of a memorial. Due to other commitments, this "stayed at the level of an idea" [3] until a conversation with a friend named Esther Brunstein, who, although not politically affiliated, is a member of a formerly prominent Bundist family. They discussed the idea of a memorial to Zygielbojm and contacted a number of other Bundist survivors and Jewish Socialists in London. After approaching a number of people for support, including historians, academics, Rabbis and Members of Parliament, [4] the committee contacted Westminster City Council in early 1993 for inclusion of a memorial to Zygielbojm within their 'Green Plaque scheme'. The latter allowed for markers to be placed on buildings within the borough which were linked to persons of historic significance. The campaign was formally launched on the 10th May that year, the 50th anniversary of his death, with a press statement detailing Zygielbojm's life and death.

The actual form of the memorial was suggested by the Committee's attitude to memorialisation in general. They felt that a plaque, due to its supposed permanence and 'openness', would be more appropriate than an annual commemoration service which might cease in the future. To David Rosenberg, who became the chair of the Szmul Zygielbojm Memorial Committee, a plaque was

> something that was achievable...and we wanted something that would last....If you have a special meeting or a conference or something like

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[2] The Board of Deputies of British Jews is the main communal institution of the Anglo-Jewish community. Established in 1760, it has a number of functions which include: protecting the interests of Jews in Britain, representing the community to Government, disseminating information about the Jewish community to wider British society, combating racism and antisemitism etc.

[3] All quotations from Rosenberg come from a conversation between him and myself, 22/5/96 unless otherwise stated.

[4] These included: Dr. David Cesarani, Professor William Fishman: Professor Zygmunt Bauman; Rabbis John Rayner and David Goldberg of St. John's Wood Liberal Synagogue; Rabbi Tony

> that, it's all right for the time being...but the memory isn't perpetuated, we wanted something that would perpetuate his memory and something that would be available for the public, you don't want something locked away somewhere, we wanted something that would help make the public aware.

There are a number of procedures for approval for the Green Plaque Scheme. The most important are:

1. The background of the nominated individual is checked for authenticity and merit.
2. The associated building on which the plaque is to be mounted, is checked for historic accuracy and suitability.
3. The owner/ occupier of the building (if not the proposer) is consulted for approval, and to approve terms and conditions as well as wording for the plaque.[5]

This third condition was to be the main problem for the committee over the next three years. A letter was sent to all the five tenants of 12 Porchester Square, where Zygielbojm lived and died, to ask for their permission to install the plaque. Only one tenant objected to the plaque: ironically he was Jewish. The reasons for his objection were couched in terms that will reoccur throughout this thesis: a memorial dedicated to a Jewish person or perceived Jewish issue would, it was thought, provoke antisemitism and Fascist reprisals. In response, David Rosenberg, the chair of the Memorial Committee wrote to the tenant in order to reassure him:

> We certainly appreciate and understand your concern. Members and supporters of our committee are active in various ways in combating

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Bayfield (Director of the Sternberg Centre) and Colin Shindler (editor of the Jewish Quarterly). See Rosenberg to Montacute (Managing Director of the City of Manchester).

> antisemitism. However we consider it extremely unlikely that there would be any danger to the property. [6]

The tenant however, refused to change his opinion and complained to Westminster City Council of being "harassed and pressured" over the issue. One prominent Anglo-Jewish historian commented that "the saga...is quite pathetic and reduces one to despair. Bloody Anglo-Jews". [7]

The relationship between Anglo-Jewry and Israel was also highlighted during the campaign for the memorial. During the inter-war period the Bund in Poland was both allied to the Socialist *International* and vehemently anti-Zionist (i.e. against the creation of a state of Israel). It therefore claimed that the best way for Jews to live would be within a Socialist state rather than in the creation of a separate Jewish state, Socialist or otherwise. At one point during the campaign, the JSG approached the '45 Aid Society, strongly pro-Zionist, who were asked to lend their support and also a small donation towards the costs of printing the commemorative brochure. The society agreed, on the condition that there were no anti-Israeli comments contained within it. [8]

The Memorial Committee in conjunction with the Green Plaque administrator of Westminster, Gillian Dawson, then explored other prospective places for the plaque. They were keen to keep it as close to possible to the original site and so considered Porchester Square Gardens. This however was blocked by the Council Parks Department's policy which ruled out anything of a "religious, racial or political" nature which might alter the character of the garden. A scheme to erect the plaque on the *outside* of the garden wall was objected to by

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[5] Sporle (Director of Planning and Transportation, Westminster City Council) to Cllr. Dismore. 2/6/93.

[6] Rosenberg to Davis, 7/11/93.

[7] Cesarani to Rosenberg 17/1/94.

[8] The '45 Society is a charity set up by a group of Holocaust survivors who came to the UK after the Second World War. The chair of the society is Ben Helfgott, also chair of the Yad Vashem (UK) Committee. The late Rabbi Hugo Gryn was also a member. Their story is told in Gilbert's *The Boys: Triumph Over Adversity.* (1996) London, Weidenfield & Nicolson.

the parks manager on the grounds that it could be a target of vandalism. [9] The solution to the problem came after Rosenberg and Dawson walked around the area to try and find alternative sites. They came up with the idea of putting the plaque on the side wall at the end of the terrace where Zygielbojm lived at the junction with the Queensway road. This circumvented the need for tenants' permission as the flats were council owned and therefore permission was not required! [10]

The committee also set about deciding on an appropriate date for the unveiling. The discussions over the choice of date for the unveiling also indicates the contentious nature of Holocaust commemoration and its relationship with British war memory. The appeal was launched on the 50th anniversary of Zygielbojm's death in May, 1993. The first proposed date for the unveiling of the plaque was on the 8th May, 1994 which, by coincidence, was also VE Day. However, it was thought by David Cesarani, Director of the Wiener Library, that this date, signifying the end of the Second World War, would "obliterate the unveiling of the plaque". Cesarani then suggested that the 19th January 1995, the anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz would be more appropriate as it would

> get some attention as the 'end of the Holocaust'. Media attention will all be focused on the one issue and the plaque unveiling would tie in nicely. Otherwise I fear it will be swamped by the 'universal' messages which will be attached to the anniversary of the end of the war. [11]

This debate indicates the parallel motives that have seen the Holocaust distanced from the history and memory of Britain at war. The 'official' commemoration of the end of the war in Europe has no space for an event

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[9] Dawson to Rosenberg, 11/5/94.

[10] Given Zygielbojm and the ZMC's political background, the irony of this situation was not lost on David Rosenberg, who admitted "I suppose [the council acted in] quite a totalitarian way towards the council tenants".

[11] Cesarani to Rosenberg 17/1/94.

which sits uneasily with a 'glorious' episode in British history. Within this discursive framework, the Holocaust must occupy its own commemorative space and have its own significant dates. However, this exclusion is also reinforced by the wish to maintain the 'specificity' of the event for the Jewish people.

Two further dates were also considered for the unveiling which situated the memorial in either Zygielbojm's death in either a personal narrative or within a wider historical framework. The two dates considered were a weekend near the 21st February 1995, being the one hundredth anniversary of Zygielbojm's birth or another date, close to the anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising on the 19th April. [12]

However, the acquisition of a site did not end the problems of the committee. It was then announced that the terrace was due for renovation and so would be covered by scaffolding during the latter half of 1995 and it was therefore not until 1996 when prospective dates could be considered. A return to the personal narrative was indicated by the final date chosen being the 12th May, 1996, the 53rd anniversary of the death of Szmul Zygielbojm. As well as the date, the time of the unveiling was also significant: 1pm was the time that he died in a hospital in Paddington.

The unveiling itself brought together a wide range of people including Holocaust survivors, Zygielbojm's daughter-in-law and grandchildren from the United States of America and the Polish Ambassador to Britain, His Excellency Ryszard Stemplowski. The unveiling itself was preceded by a number of speeches including those from the Lord Mayor of Westminster, Cllr. Alan Bradley and by David Rosenberg, the chair of the ZMC. Rosenberg's was a

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[12] Circular from Rosenberg to Friends of the Szmul Zygielbojm Memorial Committee, 5/6/94. In reply, Cesarani, suggested that the two dates be combined. "Since the first shots in the ghetto revolt were fired in January 1943, wouldn't it be reasonable to combine the centenary and the commemoration of the uprising in 1995" (emphasis in original). Cesarani to Rosenberg, 15/7/94.

very political text, railing against the inactivity of Britain and the Anglo-Jewish community with respect to the attempted extermination of European Jewry. Zygielbojm's last letter was also read, both in English and Yiddish. The number of people who came to the commemoration made the unveiling problematic as there was little room for people to congregate at the memorial site and some were forced to listen to the speeches from a traffic island in the middle of the Queensway road. It may have been that the committee underestimated the number of people that were going to be present at the unveiling. [13]

After the unveiling, a reception was held at a nearby Afro-Caribbean Community Centre. The reception comprised of speeches from a number of people, including: Perec Zylberberg (World Co-ordinating Committee of the Jewish Labour Bund), the Polish Ambassador, Majer Bodanski, Professor David Cesarani and members of Zygielbojm's family. This was followed by messages of support from various organisations and individuals and poetry and ghetto songs. The setting was, in my opinion, entirely appropriate: painted on the walls of the community centre were pictures of a number of Black civil rights activists and freedom fighters including Martin Luther King and Malcolm X.

Themes in British Holocaust Memorialisation.

A number of themes can been identified that are present throughout the history of Holocaust memorialisation during the period under study. Firstly, the widespread belief on the part of large sections of the Anglo-Jewish community that giving prominence to the Holocaust or drawing attention to their 'Jewishness' in a public setting is problematic and will give rise to antisemitic feeling and possibly violence on the part of some sections of British society. The

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[13] Indeed Rosenberg suggests that the Jewish Chronicle, a weekly national newspaper, did not foresee the attraction of the event, declining to send a reporter, only a photographer. The outcome of this is that the ZMC themselves had to write the report that appeared in the next week's edition.

change on the memorial plaque from Zygielbojm "lived here" to Zygielbojm "lived nearby" indicates the spatial manifestation of this world-view. It also gives rise to wider questions of memorialisation that will be addressed in the forthcoming chapters. As Young (1993) has argued, memorials and monuments in the landscape are mute. Without knowledge of the biography of this memorial, the complex interplay of often conflicting identities that lies behind its spatial shift would remain unarticulated. The movement of the Szmul Zygielbojm memorial plaque from a site where it has relevance, i.e. the site of his suicide is, I would suggest, a 'disconnection' which has important implications for the pedagogic aspects of landscape.

Charlesworth, writing about his experiences of running a field-class to some of the primary sites of the Holocaust as part of teaching a Third Year Undergraduate Geography module on the Holocaust, argued that one of the primary reasons for undertaking the field trip was to experience the "*immediacy* of place, site and landscape" of the Holocaust that was impossible in the classroom or lecture theatre (Charlesworth 1994, 66, emphasis in original). This, however, does raise serious questions as to the nature of memorialisation. Is there something more authentic, more 'real' about an experience of the actual sites of murder, enslavement and confinement? If this is the case, how appropriate is it to memorialise the Holocaust away from the sites themselves? Would not such a disconnection render such an experience valueless for the visitor? In the context of this chapter, how important is the disconnection between event and memorial to the experience of the visitor? What impact will it have on the perpetuation of the memory of Zygielbojm's act?

Closely related to these issues, a central theme of the thesis is that space is crucial in the making of meanings generated around a particular mnemonic site. However, this is not a one-way relationship. In turn, a memorial will also affect the meanings given to a location. One recurring strand within the memorialisation of the Holocaust in the UK which has been identified within

this thesis is the memorial function of gardens. Gardens have been seen throughout history to have a variety of functions, for example as a redemptive space, being traced back to the garden of Eden with connotations of purity (Casteras 1991 and Coffin 1994). It has also been argued that gardens are liminal spaces where traditional gender roles can be contested and transgressed (Davidoff and Hall 1987 and Wolff 1988). The majority of the case studies examined in this thesis have some form of garden element to them. From the explicit garden setting of the Hyde Park monument (chapter four) and Beth Shalom Holocaust Education Centre (chapter six) to the 'green setting' of the Prisoners of War and Concentration Camp Victims' monument in Dollis Hill (chapter three), each of these mnemonic sites incorporate some form of garden element which is integral to the meanings that they produce. In the case of the plaque to Szmul Zygielbojm, it was thought by Westminster Council's Parks Authority that a memorial would change the function or 'character' of the garden. In respect of the other mnemonic sites, the garden setting has been thought to enhance the memorial in different ways.

Another main theme of the thesis is the importance of identity in the construction of a particular view of the Holocaust. It will be shown that a distinction can be drawn between which sections of the Anglo-Jewish community are undertaking a particular memorialisation project. Many such initiatives, like the Szmul Zygielbojm memorial plaque, came from what can broadly be defined as the Jewish 'Left'. Because of the political perspective of those involved in the campaigns, these initiatives will have a particular frame of reference when memorialising the Holocaust. The same is true of the pro-Zionist Establishment, whose attitude to memorialisation will be structured by, amongst others, the relationship between Israel, Anglo-Jewry and the British state.

By focusing on the campaign for a memorial plaque to commemorate the suicide of Szmul Zygielbojm, this chapter has introduced and outlined a

number of themes that will reoccur, in varying degrees, throughout the case studies in this thesis. The next chapter will gave a general overview of Britain's relationship with the Holocaust. Chapter three is concerned with some theoretical and methodological issues about examining memorial landscapes whilst the final five chapters investigate a number of memorial campaigns that have originated in Britain since 1960 and explore more fully issues of place and identity in the memorialisation of the Holocaust in Britain.

1

Introduction

In vain, great-hearted Kublai, shall I attempt to describe Zaira, city of high bastions. I could tell you how many steps make up the streets rising like stairways, and the degree of the arcades' curves, and what kind of zinc scales cover the roofs; but I already know this would be the same as telling you nothing. The city does not consist of this, but of relationships between the measurements of its space and the events of its past: the height of a lamppost and the distance from the ground of a hanged usurper's swaying feet; the line strung from the lamppost to the railing opposite and the festoons that decorate the course of the queen's nuptial procession; the height of that railing and the leap of the adulterer who climbed over it at dawn; the tilt of a guttering and a cat's progress along it as he slips into the same window; the firing range of a gunboat which has suddenly appeared beyond the cape and the bomb that destroys the guttering; the rips in the fish net and the three old men seated on the dock mending nets and telling each other for the hundredth time the story of the gunboat of the usurper, who some say was the queen's illegitimate son, abandoned in his swaddling clothes there on the dock.

As this wave from memories flows in, the city soaks up like a sponge and expands. A description of Zaira as it is today should contain all Zaira's past. The city, however, does not tell its past, but contains it like the lines of a hand, written in the corners of the streets, the antennae of the lightning rods, the poles of the flags, every segment marked in turn with scratches, indentations, scrolls.

Italo Calvino, Invisible Cities (1979, 13).

The unspoken terror permeating our collective memory of the Holocaust (and more contingently related to the overwhelming desire not to look the memory in its face) is the gnawing suspicion that the Holocaust could be more than an aberration, more than a deviation from an otherwise straight path of progress, more than a cancerous growth on the otherwise healthy body of the civilised society; that, in short, the Holocaust was not the antithesis of modern civilisation and everything (or so we like to think) it stands for. We suspect (even if we refuse to admit it) that the Holocaust could merely have uncovered another face of the same modern society whose other, more familiar, face we admire. And that the two faces are perfectly comfortably attached to the same body. What we perhaps fear most, is that each of the two faces can no more exist without the other that the two sides of a coin.

Zygmunt Bauman, Modernity and the Holocaust (1989, 7).

In June 1983 a memorial to the Holocaust was unveiled during a small ceremony in Hyde Park. Commissioned by the Board of Deputies of British Jews (hereafter Board of Deputies) after a number of failed initiatives over the previous three decades, it was thus not until 1983, 38 years after the end of the Second World War that Britain gained its first national memorial to the

Holocaust. It is the purpose of this thesis to ask the question: why did it take so long? The landscape around us can be 'read' as a composite picture of the values of society. As Monk argues, a walk through the landscape is a pedagogic experience in how to act, to feel and to remember. Monuments as part of this landscape "are intended to commemorate what we value and to instruct us in our heritage" (1992, 124). Similarly, Daniels (1993, 5) suggests that

> [n]ational identities are co-ordinated, often largely defined, by 'legends and landscapes', by stories of golden ages, enduring traditions, heroic deeds and dramatic destinies located in ancient home-land with hallowed sites and scenery.

The virtual absence of Holocaust memorials in this country reinforces the notion that the Holocaust is not part of this country's history. Why, in Britain's collective memory of the Second World War does the Holocaust not feature more prominently? As Raphael has noted,

> Britain won. They don't regard the Holocaust as their problem.. It really isn't surprising. Your bad foot is not my bad foot. I may be sympathetic, I may give you a hand across the street, but I don't limp.
> (Raphael, quoted in Brook 1989, 421).

For a variety of reasons, the Holocaust has been thought of as something that happened "over there", a parallel of Carroll's identification of a phenomenon that he sums up as "and let's not talk about that" (Carroll 1990, vii). The Holocaust has therefore been thought of as unconnected with the experience of British people and the British State. This thesis, drawing on the theoretical perspectives of landscape interpretation in cultural geography, examines the ways in which memories of the Holocaust are structured by, and also themselves structure, wider discourses of Britain at war and the ontological framework of Anglo-Jewry.

Britain and the Holocaust.

Kushner (1994) has detailed the way in which the relationship between memory of the Holocaust and British national identity changed and developed on a number of different levels from the end of the Second World War up until the early 1990s. In terms of the wider historiography, the narratives of the Holocaust changed from concentrating on Hitler and his motives for the attempted annihilation of European Jewry, to a focus on how 'ordinary' people behaved, typified by Browning's (1992) *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*, and more recently by the controversial book by Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners* (1997). There has also been a move away from a concentration on the perpetrators alone. A changing emphasis can be seen from Hilberg's three volume work, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, first published in 1961, which looked primarily at the perpetrators (Kushner 1994, 4) to an examination of the role of the victims themselves and of the bystanders. More recently there has been a move to personalise the victims of the Holocaust for example, Gilbert's 1986 work *The Holocaust: The Jewish Tragedy*. At the same time, and for a number of factors, there has been an increase in the number of testimonials written by survivors of the Holocaust.

An identifiable hegemony has emerged which prioritises the Jewish experience during the Holocaust, sometimes at the expense of other groups who were also targeted by the Nazi regime, such as Romany and Sinti peoples, homosexuals, and the mentally and physically handicapped. There have been, however, histories written of these groups. For example Kenrick and Puxon (1972) detailed not only the fate of Europe's Gypsies under the Nazis but also the long history of persecution starting in the Middle Ages. [1]

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[1] 1995 also saw the first international conference on the persecution of Homosexuals under the Nazis. Held in London, it was organised by the Gay rights pressure group Stonewall and the World Congress of Gay and Lesbian organisations. JC 15/9/95.

Although the first histories of the Holocaust were written only a few years after the end of the Second World War, they devoted little attention to the role of Britain as the closest 'bystander'. *The British Press and Jews Under Nazi Rule*, by Sharf in 1964, sponsored by the Yad Vashem Institute in Jerusalem, was the first book to examine the British people's knowledge of the Holocaust during the war. More explicit investigations into Britain's role with respect to the Holocaust only appeared in the late 1970s and early 1980s such as Wasserstein's *Britain and the Jews of Europe* (1979) and *Auschwitz and the Allies* by Gilbert, and Bower's *Blind Eye to Murder* in 1981. As Kushner (1994) has noted, the situation in the United States was somewhat different with a number of books published during the 1960s which criticised both the actions of the American Government and called into question a number of mythologies about American identity.

Also at this time, the first permanent organisation in the UK devoted exclusively to promoting remembrance of the Holocaust was set up. The Yad Vashem (UK) Committee (hereafter YVC), a sub-committee of the Board of Deputies was formed in 1977 with a wide-ranging remit including: commemoration, education and research, to collect Holocaust testimony, participate in the Warsaw Ghetto uprising commemorations and stimulate discussion in Universities and other educational institutions. Again an indication as to the lack of interest in Holocaust commemoration in the UK, the committee, although comprised almost exclusively of British Jews, arose at the instigation of Yad Vashem in Jerusalem.

On the level of popular culture the relationship between the Holocaust and the British public can be characterised on the whole by one of temporary 'blips' on the national consciousness. The publication of the dairy of Anne Frank (1947, published in its English translation in 1953) and the release of Spielberg's film *Schindler's List* (1994), along with the anniversaries of the liberation of the camps have all thrust the Holocaust onto the public agenda, albeit for a limited time. Recent discoveries about the amount of information known by the Allies

during the Holocaust and the role of the Swiss Government in storing Nazi gold (see Jewish Chronicle (hereafter JC) passim 1997) continue to maintain the profile of the Holocaust. [2]

The absence of the Holocaust from the collective memory of Britain has been reflected within Human Geography. Indeed, Cole and Smith have argued that "[p]erhaps the most remarkable blank-spot in geographical research concerns the Holocaust" (Cole and Smith 1995, 300). Cole and Smith, Charlesworth (1992, 1994a, 1994b), and Clarke, Doel and McDonough (1994) are significant exceptions to the seeming reluctance within Academic Geography to tackle the subject.

There is however, a growing body of literature that can be identified within Human Geography on the way that war and conflict have been memorialised and which will be examined in more detail in the next chapter. The work of Heffernan (1995) on First World War memorialisation, Morris (1997) on the construction of Englishness in First World War cemeteries, as well as Johnson (1994, 1995) writing about the memorialisation of the Irish state have all brought issues of memorialisation and the use of the past as a source of identity to the attention of Human Geographers.

At the same time, there have been an increasing number of books dealing with the representation of the Holocaust in a variety of media. Friedlander's edited volume, *Probing the limits of representation* (1992), Hartman's *Holocaust Remembrance: The Shapes of Memory* (1994) and with respect to actual monuments, the work of Young (1993, 1994) have done much to bring the issues of the production and consumption of monuments that seek to represent the Holocaust to the fore. Young's ground-breaking book, *The Texture of Memory* (1993), set an agenda for examining what he calls, the "biography of

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[2] For example see 'Could Britain have done more to halt the Holocaust?' by Bower (Daily Mail 20/4/97).

memorials" closely associated in my mind with Samuels' "biography of landscape" an attempt to investigate "the who behind the image and facts of landscape" (Samuels 1979, 53). This process is an examination of the people, events, motivations, often conflicting, that caused the memorial to be constructed. As Young suggests,

> [a]s an inert piece of stone, the monument keeps its own past a tightly held secret, gesturing away from its own history to the events and meanings we bring to it in our visits.
> (Young 1993, 14).

However, Britain's memorialisation of the Holocaust has also been a subject about which there has been little academic debate. Young fails to examine the memorialisation of the Holocaust in the UK, as does another study of Holocaust memorial sites by Milton in 1991. Even Wollaston (1996), a British academic writing about the future of Holocaust memory, ignores the campaigns for Holocaust memorials and museums in the UK.

It is therefore the purpose of this thesis to reconstruct the biography of a number of the monuments and museums that seek to represent the Holocaust in the British Landscape. A number of case studies have been chosen to reflect the full diversity of Holocaust memorialisation in this country. The main case study investigates the attempt by primarily the Board of Deputies to construct a Holocaust Memorial, firstly in Whitehall and subsequently in Hyde Park, which is examined to show the ways in which the Holocaust is seen as problematic for both the Anglo-Jewish elite and British identity. This is complemented by a number of case studies that reflect various group initiatives. Thus Beth Shalom, the Holocaust memorial centre in Nottinghamshire, will be used to show an independent Christian response, whereas the Manchester Jewish Museum and London Museum of Jewish life show how the Holocaust is viewed from a Jewish perspective. Finally, from the State's perspective, an analysis of the

development of the Imperial War Museum's Holocaust Gallery, due to be opened at the end of the century will chart the arrival of the Holocaust into a mainstream British institution for the first time.

'Keeping One's Head Down': Anglo-Jewry and the British State.

It will be argued within this thesis that the heroic discourses of British involvement in the Second World War have made Holocaust memorialisation in Britain problematic. The stories that are recalled about British participation in the war commemorate not only famous military victories such as the Battle of Britain, El Alamein and the D-Day Normandy landings, but also 'triumph over adversity' in circumstances such as the Blitz and Dunkirk. Whilst not denying the legitimacy of such stories it is my opinion that they leave little room for an articulation of unheroic stories about Britain at war such as the Holocaust. Another factor is the ontological framework of the majority of Anglo-Jewry. This can be characterised as the discourse of 'keeping one's head down,' of being 'more English than the English'. The starting point for this is that in order to avoid antisemitism, the Jewish population must avoid attention as *Jews*.

> [T]he freedom has a price. In that very gratitude of many Jews in this country is a feeling of otherness. Of not belonging. Of not quite being accepted. The hurt is aggravated by the fact that the very condition of the freedom is to keep quiet, not express the pain, not to be rude to the hosts. So the wound festers....Such habits don't come out of the blue. They aren't intrinsic to Judaism or to some notion of the Jewish character. They have their roots historically in the Christian teaching of the contempt for the Jews that has dominated Europe for the past millennium. We have kept out heads down because it helped us survive.

> The problem for many Jews in Britain now...is that we find it difficult to acknowledge when times have changed.
> (Cooper and Morrison 1991, 63-64).

To understand how this crucial relationship developed, it is necessary to give a short history of the Jewish community in Britain. The histories of successive waves of Jewish immigration have contributed to the heterogeneity of the Anglo-Jewish population which is dissected and fractured along lines of gender, class, ethnicity and religion. The next section will therefore contain a brief history of the Jewish people in Britain and investigate the nature of the Anglo-Jewish community with the implications this has for both the memorialisation of the Holocaust in the UK and this study.

A history of the Jewish community in Britain.

After the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE and the failure of the Bar Kochbar revolt, the subsequent dispersal of the Jewish people from Palestine meant that small Jewish communities sprung up in many parts of Europe, the Middle East and Asia. This included Britain where there were communities in a number of cities such as York and Oxford by the twelfth century. Some Jews did achieve wealth and prominence, but accusations of ritual murder and the anti-Jewish decrees of Pope Innocent III led to violence and massacres. In 1290, Edward I expelled the 2,500 Jews remaining in England (Brook 1989, 15).

Although some Jews came to Britain in the fifteenth century, it was not until 1665 that the Jews were allowed openly to return. Despite being free of many of the restrictions imposed on them in the rest of Europe, Jews, like Catholics and Nonconformists, were still not regarded or legally constituted as equal citizens. However, the next two centuries witnessed increasing affluence within certain sections of the community and, as Brook has argued, "[b]y 1835, when

Jews were finally granted the franchise, they were no longer a community of immigrants" (1989, 17) and had spread out to many provincial cities.

During the nineteenth century a large number of communal institutions were initiated from within the Jewish population. For example, the Board of Deputies of British Jews, whilst being founded in 1760, was finally recognised as a representative body in 1836 with the power to register Jewish marriages. In 1841, the Jewish Chronicle, a national weekly newspaper was founded and the Chief Rabbinate was instituted in 1845. In 1858, the first Jewish MP, Lionel de Rothschild, took his seat in Parliament. The 1850s saw increases in religious and charitable institutions which were augmented by increasing immigration, especially from Eastern Europe, where pogroms in Russia in the latter half of the century, increased the attractiveness of Britain for European Jews.

By 1900, large sections of Anglo-Jewry had become "in manners and appearances and aspirations, thoroughly anglicized" (Brooks 1989, 22) and the appearance of large numbers of non-English speaking Jews with a different culture was greeted with, at best, ambivalence by many within Anglo-Jewry. These Jews thought that the status quo would be threatened by such distinctive immigrants, whose arrival would in turn lead to an increase in antisemitism. A widespread fear over immigration had led to the 1905 Aliens Act. Jewish immigration, however, continued albeit at a reduced rate. The desire on the part of the Anglo-Jewish communal establishment to remake the recent immigrants in the image of the ideal Anglo-Jew is examined in greater detail in chapter five on the Manchester Jewish Museum. For example, in Manchester at the end of the nineteenth century newly arrived Jewish immigrants of school age were given Anglicised fore-names by their teachers and were forbidden to speak Yiddish. A further example would be the instructions to Jewish refugees fleeing from Nazi persecution in the 1930s on how to behave in public. Posters

advertising the Naturalisation Society exhorted German refugees not to speak German in public, lest they draw attention to themselves as not English. [3]

In addition to the attempt to mould the new immigrants in the elite's image of the Anglo-Jew, the perceived fragility of the assimilationist relationship with the British state caused the institutions of Anglo-Jewry to display a "cautious defensiveness towards general society" (Wasserstein 1996, 73). This was illustrated in 1948 in the choice of a new Chief Rabbi to replace the recently deceased J. H. Hertz. Israel Brodie, an Oxford educated, British born rabbi was chosen in favour of the "most impressive candidate", Hungarian born Alexander Altmann, as it was thought that "the choice of a foreign-born Chief Rabbi might render the community's patriotism open to question" (ibid.).

With the arrival of an estimated fifty thousand Jewish refugees before, during and after the Nazi control of Germany, the Jewish population in post-war Britain can be divided into four groups, corresponding to successive waves of immigration. The first is the Sephardim who were expelled from Spain and Portugal in the fifteenth century and came to Britain, mainly from Amsterdam, after the re-admission of Jews in 1656. In the eighteenth century, they were joined by Sephardic Jews from other Mediterranean countries. The second group are Ashkenazi Jews, [4] descendants of immigrants from Germany in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. On the whole this group also prospered and these communities came to form the 'aristocracy' of the community (Wasserstein 1996).

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[3] See poster advertising the Naturalisation Society in Romain, J.A. The Jews of England. A Portrait of Anglo-Jewry through Original Sources and Illustrations. (published by Michael Goulston Educational Foundation in association with JC publications limited. 1988, 141).

[4] The main difference between Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews was geographical, the former originated in Spain and Portugal, whilst the latter came on the whole form central and eastern Europe. Although there are differences in liturgy, ritual and pronunciation, there is no doctrinal discord between the groups

Another group was those descending from Russo-Polish immigration during the period 1881 to 1914 whose culture was, on the whole, markedly different from the assimilated Anglo-Jew. For example, as Alderman has suggested,

> The immigrants brought into Anglo-Jewish life three political elements which had been but barely discernible within the community before: socialism, trade unionism and Zionism. Powerful pressures were brought to bear by the established Jewish community to eradicate these novel tendencies.
> (Alderman 1983, quoted in Brook 1989, 335).

The last group were the refugees from Nazism who were mainly upper-middle-class and business people, including some notable scholars, and the off-spring of such families. One notable group were 732 children: "the Boys", survivors of various camps and ghettos, who arrived in Britain in August of 1945. They were paid for by the Central British Fund, a Jewish organisation which had been active in helping refugees since the rise of Hitler. A close-knit group, they continued to meet regularly and in 1965 they formed the '45 Aid Society, a charitable organisation, both for mutual help and to make charitable donations to other causes. The members have been very active in various forms of Holocaust remembrance activities Their chair, Ben Helfgott, also became chair of the YVC in the mid-1980s (Gilbert 1996).

Relations between these groups was uneasy. The communal leadership was generally still made up from the 'aristocracy' until well into the latter half of the twentieth century. This group was, in the main, less religiously observant and also less favourable towards Zionism than other sections within Anglo-Jewry, especially the more recent religiously ultra-orthodox or orthodox immigrants from Eastern Europe.

The Jewish community in Britain reached its peak in terms of numbers during the post-war period reaching approximately 400,000 in 1967. However, by 1996, due to a falling birth rate, marrying later and out-marriage (marriage to non-Jews), this figure had dropped by over a quarter to approximately 292,000 (Wasserstein 1996, viii). During this period, a number of social, political, economic and cultural changes occurred within the community. The importance of the suburban communities grew, reflected in the increased democratisation of the communal institutions, and the decreasing influence of the "Cousinhood". The latter was made up of such Jewish families, such as the Montefiores, Samuels and the Montegues, who had achieved prosperity and social standing during the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries and had come to dominate Jewish communal institutions up until the Second World War. At the same time, however, there was a demographic decline of provincial communities, especially those in Ireland, Scotland and Wales, with only Manchester retaining a relatively stable population of 30,000 (Wasserstein 1996, 245). The majority of British Jews continued to be suburban, a third of the total London population living in the borough of Barnet alone.

The dominant religious grouping continued to be the Orthodox United Synagogue, although there was growth in both the ultra-orthodox and reform movements. (Brook 1989) There has also been a substantial growth in the number of secular Jews in the UK: Jews who identify themselves as Jews on cultural rather than religious terms. As a non-religious Jew, former MP the late Ian Mikardo, stated "I think of myself as an ethnic Jew and the whole of my cultural basis is Jewish" (quoted in Brook 1989, 175). Cesarani has estimated that as many of a third of the Jewish population in Britain do not belong to a synagogue, but participate in a number of organisations such as British Friends of Peace Now, Jews Against Apartheid and other political or support groups (ibid., 428).

It is therefore more appropriate to talk of the 'communities' of the Anglo-Jewish population rather than community in the singular. The next section addresses issues of how the relationship between these groups and their individual ideologies can be examined in order to understand the complex landscape of Holocaust memorialisation in Britain.

The construction of the Anglo-Jewish 'community'.

One way in which the formations of the Anglo-Jewish community can be thought of is using Jackson's (1989) theory of 'dual closure' (see Figure 1). Jackson uses the example of the British class system. The 'dominant group' is identified as the upper and middle classes which exert power over the 'intermediary group' which comprises of white working class males. This group then seeks to exercise power over the 'subordinate group,' in this case black people and the female working class. 'Dual closure' therefore is helpful in that it identifies an 'intermediary group' between the dominant and subordinate groups. A crucial point to appreciate is that power relations will not occur in only one direction, and that subordinate and intermediary groups will exert power in some spheres over the dominant group, for example with reference to labour markets, strikes or walkouts (Jackson 1989, 54). There will also be many ways in which groups actually or symbolically resist power that is exerted over them.

Applying this conceptualisation to the relationship between the British State and the Anglo-Jewish community, the dominant group can be theorised as the British State, who exercise power over the intermediary group; the Anglo-Jewish elite, who in turn exert power over the subordinate group, other Jews.

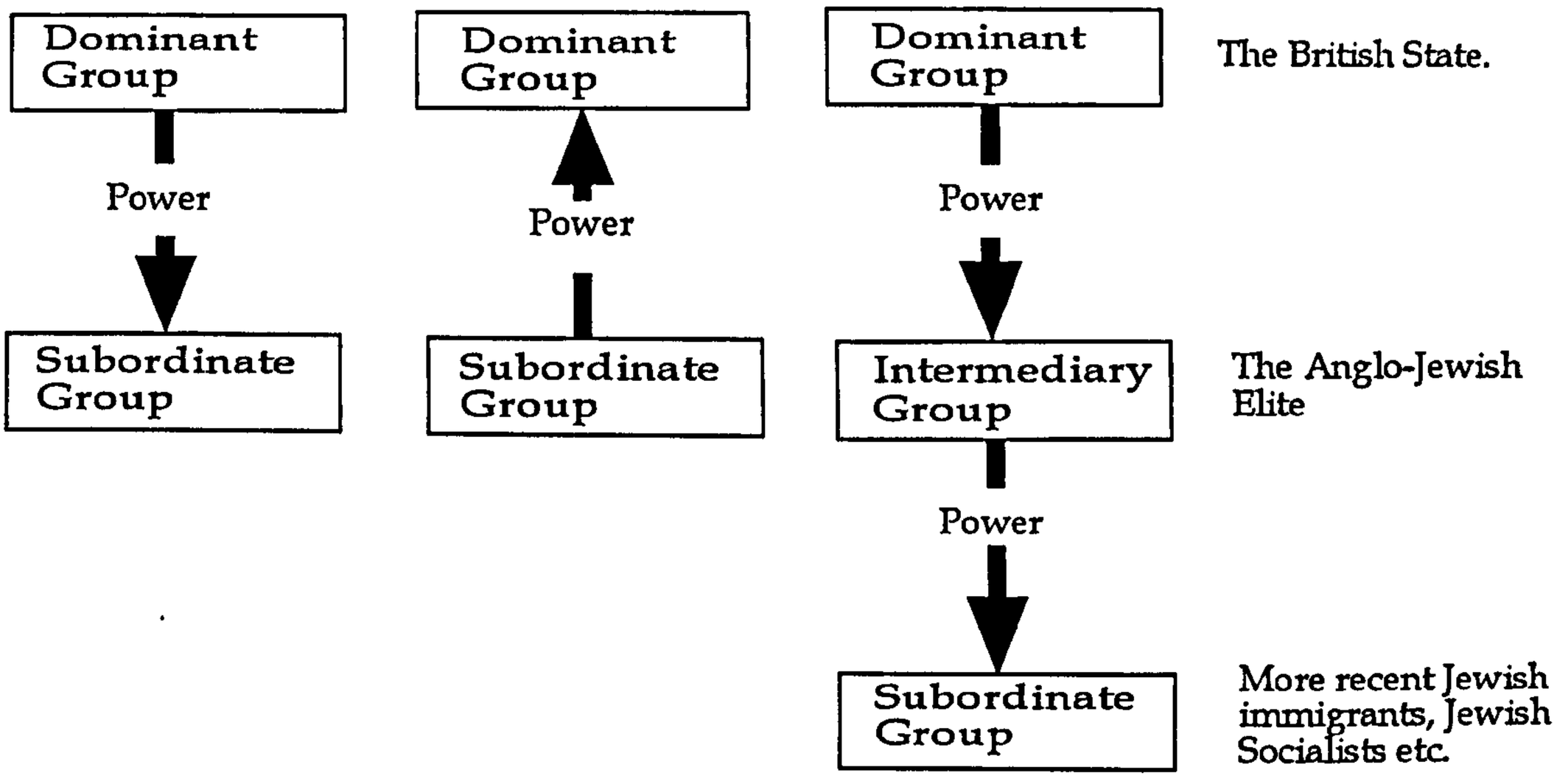

Fig. 1. Dual Closure in the Anglo-Jewish Community.
(After Jackson, 1989).

The British State continually attempts to create and maintain a hegemony, attempting to make Jewish people and other immigrants to Britain in their own image, a process of assimilation wonderfully articulated by Kushner in 1994. The Jewish elite, accepting the cultural norms of the dominant community, then assist this process by exerting power over both more recent Jewish immigrants and others such as Jewish socialists. This process of assimilation is directed at those who do not fit in with this world view, and who do not share similar sets of social, cultural, political and economic values as the Anglo-Jewish elite. As Cooper and Morrison have argued:

> The British Jewish community deemed its relationship to the general society to be governed by a form of contract, in reality informal but to *the leading Jews* having the force of law. The terms of this contract were that the community was to forswear any national qualities, and adhere to a definition of Jewishness as different only in its religious rituals and beliefs. In return, gentile society would award the Jews civic equality. As a result, the community felt that any deviation by them from this strict contract, in other words any assertion of national rather than

> religious identities, would result in British society likewise abrogating its side of the bargain, and removing the civic equality it had previously bestowed.
> (Cooper and Morrison 1991, 72. Emphasis added).

A similar, though more nuanced interpretation of this relationship gives the Jewish elite a more proactive role in the construction of their identity and their strategies for coming to terms with living in Britain. Thus a 'hard fought struggle' for acceptance within wider British society was threatened by the appearance of a more distinctive 'other,' for example the culturally distinct Jews from Eastern Europe, who arrived in large numbers in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was thought that the new immigrants would disrupt the image of the assimilated Anglo-Jew. The interests of the dominant class were served by the construction of a series of dualisms about the social world which defined one way of life as proper, and therefore valued, and another as improper and hence worthless. The Anglo-Jewish communal leadership attempted to inculcate both more recent Jewish immigration and the Jewish working-class with their values in order to maintain and stabilise the social structure and their acceptance within British society, which they perceived as resting on adopting the social, cultural, economic and political traditions of middle-class Britons.

It has been traditional - at least in the English speaking world - to describe Jewish people as being a 'community' (Webber 1994). This has indeed been the way in which Jews have organised themselves, being formally and legally defined in the UK in the form of the Board of Deputies. Webber also uses the Jewish press as an example. He argues that the Jewish Chronicle - a weekly national newspaper - treats all Jews as though they *do* belong to one community, whether assimilated or not. Wasserstein has attributed the paper's success to "a close affinity with the evolving collective mentality of its

readership" and, with a circulation of approximately 50,000, it reaches the majority of Jewish homes in Britain (1996, 249).

However, as this chapter has outlined, the Jewish people in the UK are not an homogenous mass, but are dissected along lines of class, religion, ethnicity, sexuality and so on. As Alderman has argued:

> Partly as a result of the fragmentation of British Jewry over the past quarter-century or so, there is no longer one united community, but rather a series of separate communities which overlap, to a greater or lesser extent.
> (Alderman 1994, 191).

Such fragmentation is not only a reaction to outside influences but also to the oppositional way in which identities are made and re-made (Woodward 1997). Identities are formed through symbolic systems of representation and are part of the "continuous 'play' of history, culture and power" through which we position ourselves and are positioned within narratives of the past (ibid., 23). As Hall argues, the construction of identity

> entails discursive work, the binding and marking of symbolic boundaries, the production of 'frontier effects'. It requires what is left outside, its constitutive outside, to consolidate the process.
> (Hall 1996, 3).

With respect to the Anglo-Jewish 'communities', Webber has argued that

> Jews often explain who they are on the basis of making distinctions between themselves and fellow Jews. Jewish identities...are nowadays as much fashioned on the basis of internal Jewish distinctions as they are

> on the basis of adaptations to the outside world.
> (Webber 1994, 23).

Thus there are a whole range of 'Jewish identities' in Britain.

These identities can be seen to have a direct or indirect influence upon Holocaust memorialisation. The central case study within this thesis is the campaign for a Holocaust memorial by the Board of Deputies in the late 1970s and early 1980s. I will argue that the particular historical relationship between the Board of Deputies - as the Anglo-Jewish 'elite' - and the British State structures their attempts at Holocaust memorialisation. As Steiner has argued,

> In Britain the Shoah has no reality, not even to the Jews. Those who speak and write about it, and raise the crucial questions of how Auschwitz has altered our perceptions, our theology, are considered bombastic....Out of all the countries of the world with a sizeable Jewish population, Britain alone, out of the whole diaspora of remembrance, is oblivious to the Shoah. Britain behaves as though the nineteenth-century contract with rationality and meliorism were still intact. The experience of our own century seems to have had no effect. The Jewish establishment will never remonstrate, it will never rock the boat. Did it speak out in the 1940s when unspeakable things were being done to those who had survived the Holocaust? No. Consequently we live in an oasis of unreality. Yet it is a miracle that the Jews of Britain were spared the horrors of Europe. Only twenty miles of salt sea separated them from extinction.
> (Steiner, quoted in Brooks 1989, 421).

This is not universal. In beginning to understand the memorial landscapes of the Holocaust in the UK, it should be remembered that one who does *not* feel such a sense of alienation is Greville Janner. Janner was the main driving force

behind the Whitehall/Hyde Park monument campaign in 1979-83 during the time when he was President of the Board of Deputies [5]. The resultant campaign can be seen as a struggle between a wish to maintain the relationship between the Anglo-Jewish elite and the British State and an understandable desire to articulate in public form memory of the Holocaust (see chapter four). This need to communicate knowledge and a particular understanding of the Holocaust to wider British society is linked not only to education but also must be understood within a wider international context, especially in the United States of America, where successful attempts at public memorialisation had been undertaken by various Jewish communities even before the end of the Second World War (see Young 1993).

In Britain attempts at public memorialisation of the Holocaust have proved problematic for the Anglo-Jewish communal elite. If the dominant discourse of 'keeping one's head down' is pursued to its full extent, then nothing which disrupts the image of the assimilated Anglo-Jew can be attempted. Public Holocaust memorialisation could be seen as problematic as it identifies Jews in other than religious terms, threatening, in the minds of the Jewish elite, to negate the assimilationist contract with the British state. This could be one reason why much Holocaust memorialisation by the Anglo-Jewish community has occurred within private religious Jewish spaces such as cemeteries and synagogues. However, this does not mean that every episode of memorialisation will follow these discursive formation. For example, the Szmul Zygielbojm memorial plaque campaign originated from within the Jewish Socialist Group and therefore was informed by particular ideological positions, both with respect to who was being remembered and how this was attempted.

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[5] Janner has argued that he is "totally immersed in both societies. My father used to say that British Jews were the most fortunate people in the world, because you have one foot in one great culture and the other foot in another. His other view, which I accept entirely, is that you don't become a better Briton by becoming a worse Jew". (Quoted in Brook 1989, 418). Janner thus did not identify with the sense of alienation that Brook (1989) has argued persists within Anglo-Jewry and which is implicit within the assimilationist framework.

This is the tension through which the landscapes of the Holocaust in the UK should be read. A number of discourses which articulate various aspects of Anglo-Jewish identity and Holocaust memory shape, and are in turn shaped by, these landscapes. The mnemonic sites in Britain are the various ways in which a number of different groups have attempted to negotiate these discourses. Each set of discourses will be different for the various groups that have attempted memorial projects.

Narratives of the Holocaust sit uneasily both within discourses of Britain at war, and within Anglo-Jewish public discourse. It disrupts the heroic narratives of British involvement in the war, but also is problematic in terms of Anglo-Jewish identity. Within the dominant ontological framework for Anglo-Jews, identification as Jews on any other than religious terms risks provoking antisemitism. The memory of the Holocaust as a specifically Jewish issue has therefore proved problematic for Anglo-Jews. The changing ways in which different Anglo-Jewish identities have negotiated confrontations with Holocaust narratives structure the memorial landscape of the Holocaust in the UK and also this thesis.

Studying the Holocaust in the UK.

Given the symbolic distancing of the Holocaust from the experience of Britain at war, a crucial question is the necessity of such a study, in Britain, by a British academic. The Holocaust has been constructed as an event which happened 'over there' on a 'diseased continent' and this is one of the main discourses that has prevented memorialisation of the Holocaust in the UK. For example, when the Association of Nazi Concentration Camp Survivors (ANCCS) approached the Council for Christians and Jews (CCJ) in January 1965 proposing a memorial meeting in Trafalgar Square, Bill Simpson of the CCJ replied that the event would be of "secondary importance" to Christian Aid week being held at

that time. Christian Aid week was seen by the CCJ as a "positive and creative" event as opposed to the proposed rally which it was thought would stir up bitterness and antagonism (quoted in Kushner 1994, 253 and see also chapter three below on the various campaigns for a Holocaust memorial in Britain during the 1960s and 1970s).

However, research on the Holocaust needs to be undertaken in Britain for a number of reasons. British history is intimately bound up with the Holocaust because the British experience of war is intimately bound up with the Holocaust. Information about the treatment of Jews in Nazi Germany was available and was widely known in Britain from 1933 and from 1942 onwards reliable sources had given the location and function of Auschwitz. In addition, refugees came to Britain both before and during the war and survivors came to Britain after the war, along with hundreds of suspected war criminals. Less 'heroic' histories need also to be mentioned such as controversial areas of British Government policy such as the closure of the routes of immigration to Palestine or debates over the failure to bomb the railroad to Auschwitz. Of more explicit relevance there was a labour camp on British soil in Alderney in the Channel Islands where British subjects were worked to death or murdered and from where there were transportations to Auschwitz.

Taking a different perspective, the Holocaust is also relevant to Britain, as it is relevant to all Modern societies. Bauman, in 1989, has argued that the Holocaust should not be viewed as a symptom of the 'pathology' of society, but rather as a window on society in its normal state. The Holocaust was only possible due to the norms and institutions of Modern Western Civilisation.

> We know now that *we live in a type of society that made the Holocaust possible, and that contained nothing which could stop the Holocaust from happening.*
> (Bauman 1989, 88. Emphasis in original).

The Holocaust therefore has a relevancy beyond immediate connections of geography and history: it asks fundamental questions about the world in which we live. It is for this reason that Bauman argues that the Holocaust needs to be studied, adding the proviso that it

> is not a sufficient guarantee against the return of mass murderers and numb bystanders. Yet without such a study, we would not even know how likely or improbable such a return may be. (Ibid).

This thesis will therefore examine the social, political, economic and cultural context of Holocaust memorialisation in the latter part of the twentieth century in Britain from the starting point of the relevance of the Holocaust to the British experience of war and to an understanding of British society as a whole. As the main focus of this thesis is the interaction between British national identity, Anglo-Jewish identity and Holocaust memory, I have therefore drawn a distinction between public and private memorials. Although this dichotomy does not reflect the complexity of the meanings that Holocaust memorials generate, it is useful at this point to differentiate between memorials that have been constructed or designed to be placed in public spaces such as parks or designed for public consumption such as museums, and those that are located in private, Jewish spaces, such as synagogues and cemeteries. This thesis will focus on the former as it is the connection and contestation between Anglo-Jewish Holocaust memory and British national identity that will be used to examine the exclusivity of British war memory and the ways that the landscape can be reinvested with a more inclusive memory.

A Note on Terminology.

As Wollaston has argued (1996) (see also Charlesworth 1992, Cole and Smith, 1994), the terminology that is used to describe the incarceration and mass

murder of various group by the Nazis before and during the Second World is laden with ideological assumptions as to the nature of the event, the victims, and its significance within a wider religious or socio-political framework. Even positing a single term for a wide range of events is a simplification, but as Wollaston suggests, if we are to talk about these events, then labelling of some kind is unavoidable. Therefore the word or words that I chose to describe these set of events will reflect my own ideological opinions on these issues.

The wide range of choices of word to describe these set of events references the contestation over their memory. Each term sits within a discursive framework which Wollaston argues has "attendant implications that may be ethical, historical, philosophical, political, rhetorical or theological" (Wollaston 1996, 3). For example, Charlesworth (1992) argues that the term 'holocaust' is problematic, meaning 'sacrifice by fire', or 'burnt offering', preferring the Hebrew term 'Shoah', which is "more consonant with the Jewish tradition" referring to the destruction of Israel by the surrounding nations told in *Isiah* (1992, 469). However, as he suggests, this term too is problematic, situating those murders within a Jewish narrative framework.

Although the use of the term Shoah according to Wollaston "signifies the rejection of any attribution of religious meaning to these events", its location within Jewish narrative is, I would argue, problematic. In referencing an episode in Jewish history, the use of the term reinforces Jewish particularity with respect to those set of events, and is, in my opinion, a major obstacle from a pedagogic point of view. Viewing these murders as primarily a Jewish experience, and probably more importantly the vociferous defence of this primacy, allows them to be removed from the non-Jewish observers realm of compassion: it is a problem for the Jews, not 'us'. The corollary of this is the down playing of the experience of other groups such as those classified as gypsies, as mentally and physically disabled, communists, as well as Polish and Russian nationals. I believe that this has had a great impact in the realm of

contemporary social relations. For example it is, and rightly so, frowned upon to be antisemitic in most sections of contemporary British society. Whilst antisemitism may be replaced or masked by a crude anti-Zionism, the violent antisemitism seen in the UK before 1945 was all but untenable after the Holocaust.

However, it is tenable, and in some circles fashionable to be prejudiced against gypsies or their perceived (however mistakenly) equivalent, the traveller. This is, in part due to their marginalisation within the memory of the Holocaust. I am not suggesting that in order to have social equality a group must have been seen to suffer, but the universal implication of the Holocaust as a damning indictment of prejudice in its ultimate form is significantly hindered by the concentration of the Jews as the primary victims of the Holocaust. The prejudice directed at Romany people in Britain is acceptable to many within British society because it is not seen as part of the continuum that leads to genocide in the same way that antisemitism is. Within this thesis I will therefore use the term 'Holocaust' to mean the murder of Jews, Soviet Prisoners of War, Soviet, Polish and Yugoslav civilians, people with mental and physical handicaps, the Romany and Sinti people and homosexuals. However, it must be remembered that within quotations used in this thesis the term 'Holocaust' may be used by those who have a different ideological conception of it.

Researching the Holocaust.

Researching the Holocaust has also highlighted many personal and academic difficulties of undertaking a doctorate. I would like to consider in a more self-reflexive way a few of the problems that have been encountered within my research and suggest a number of ways in which these can be helpful in examining the process of doing a research degree. I have found that the process, whilst daunting, is an extremely rewarding experience and is a journey

that requires a understanding of all the relationships that are built up over the period of study. This chapter also looks at the relationships that I have developed during my time as a research student: with my supervisor, with the postgraduate community, with the actual people who comprise the case study of my work: 'the researched,' and finally with myself. These should not be seen however as oppositional pairings, rather as dialogues that need sensitive handling to complete a doctorate.

A number of texts about the doctoral process suggest that the relationship between supervisor and supervised is important, indeed "so crucial that students cannot afford to leave it to chance" (Phillips and Pugh 1987, 82). Flexibility has been needed throughout the duration my study as I have become more competent at doing research into the memorialisation of the Holocaust. In the first instance I relied heavily on the experience of my supervisor to guide me through often confusing and difficult times. For example, after an undergraduate degree, I applied for, and was awarded a fully funded studentship at Cheltenham and Gloucester College of Higher Education. The title of the area of research was 'landscapes of war and genocide in twentieth century Europe'. In the first instance this seemed an unlikely avenue of research for me, but I had developed an interest in symbolic space and how memorials and monuments mediate our memory of past events and the implications this has for present understandings of history. I therefore submitted a proposal looking at the National war memorials of Germany and the UK and how each country's very different experiences of war shaped, and was in turn shaped by, their memorials to it.

This changed significantly after a few weeks at College during numerous discussions with my supervisor, Andrew Charlesworth. His main interest is the geography of the Holocaust and we decided to change the focus of the study to an examination of Holocaust memorials in Britain. There were many reasons for this, not least of which was that we decided that a comparative study of

Germany and the UK would be significantly hindered by my inability to speak German! The 50th anniversary of the liberation of the extermination and concentration camps was approaching and we felt that this was an appropriate time to review issues of commemoration in Britain of a set of events that is generally considered to be outside the realm of British History.

My initial reaction to this change was one of bewilderment. To find myself undertaking a study significantly different to that which I had expected was rather unsettling, considered in the context of coming to terms with postgraduate life and the uncertainty of moving to a new area. The nature of research means that it is continually changing. It took a least a year for my terms of reference to settle down into a project that did not change every two or three weeks. The new reading that I undertook and the new people that I talked to about the study meant that the theoretical and methodological basis was unlikely to remain constant. Although this is at first very disconcerting, it is also liberating. As well as being a 'challenge' it is also an opportunity for development and self-reflection within a research community.

The study continued to change significantly over the period of research. For example, a number of Holocaust memorials that were previously unknown to me were brought to my attention only at the end of the second year, and the emphasis that has been placed on these in relation to a number of other case studies continued to change during the process of writing-up. As in any other relationship, no hard and fast rules can be applied to how you interact with your supervisor, although the important thing to remember is that they are, on the whole, on your side and want you to succeed for number of reasons not least their commitment to the area under study.

This leads on to my next point which is closely connected to the changing nature of research and to the development of my study, and that is luck. On one level I have been lucky to be able to do postgraduate research, especially in

the current climate of Higher Education funding and the combination of institution, supervisor and student has worked out very well. But luck is also fundamental to the research process. For example, I only found out about one of the Holocaust memorials in Britain due to a chance meeting in a London archive. A fellow researcher looking at a completely different aspect of the Jewish Community asked me about my research, and after hearing that I was looking at the Holocaust Memorial in Hyde Park asked me whether I knew about a memorial in the Borough of Brent in North West London. People may call this 'networking' or even 'fate,' but in reality I just happened to be in the right place at the right time. This has, as a consequence, allowed me to analyse my main case study, the Hyde Park Holocaust Memorial Garden, in a much more nuanced way.

Another vital series of relationships that has helped throughout the period of study is those between myself and my fellow research students. This may seem straight forward, everybody needs friends, but those around me also studying for research degrees have proved to be a valuable support network. I have continued doubts about whether I have the ability to gain a Ph.D. qualification. The important point I had to recognise was that *everybody* has these doubts. They can erupt at any time during the period of study but if one remembers that most postgraduates at one time or another think to themselves "my work's no good and I'll never get a degree" these feelings are more easily coped with, even if a colleague at the next desk seemed to be churning out a chapter a week. A fellow research student to empathise with was an enormous help when the research process did not seem to be going well.

Tied to the sensitive nature of the research, one of the main problems that I experienced is that of the difficulties in setting up some of the interviews. Owing to both the emotional nature of the research and to the contentious issues surrounding Holocaust memorisation I found it very difficult negotiating with some of the potential interviewees. In two instances it took over a year to

arrange and carry out the interview, a long process of gaining trust and also fitting in with peoples' hectic schedules. This was at times disheartening, but there are a number of strategies that can be used to deal with this. Important with all interviewees, but especially so with Holocaust survivors is respecting their wishes. This may seem at first quite simple, but in a situation where you are dependent on the good-will of others it can be tempting to keep pushing for the interview. The power-relations between interviewer and interviewee are complex, but in the end, they have the right to say no. That is how it should be. A researcher has no automatic 'right' to an interview. In the case of my research sometimes the questions are simply too painful to deal with. One can sometimes get the information from other sources, such as minutes of meetings or written testimony, but the interviewee's wishes must be respected at all times. Another way that interviews can be arranged is through 'gate-keepers' well respected figures who can mediate between yourself and the person you wish to interview. Again I have been very lucky in having access through my supervisor's established contacts, who can vouch for me. This is especially important when one considers the frequency of antisemitic attacks and abuse, and the Holocaust Survivors that I interviewed had every right to be cautious in granting interviews, especially from 'cold-callers'.

The final relationship that I needed to negotiate was that with myself. At a number of points during doctoral research a student can become disheartened and/or bored. It has been suggested by Phillips and Pugh (ibid, 68) that the end of the second year is a particularly common time for the research student to feel that he or she is not getting anywhere with the topic and indeed after that length of time concentrating on one particular subject a break is needed. In the case of my research into landscapes of the Holocaust a fundamental concern about my study was voiced by members of my family who registered their unease at my dealing with such an obviously emotionally intensive subject on a daily basis.

This is something about which I too had reservations, not in the sense that I queried that the study needed to be done, but in whether I had the emotional capacity to deal with the horrors of the Holocaust at such a level. It *is* a very difficult subject to deal with. Writers with a much greater command over language than mine, have been lost for words to describe the events that took place. This is so much more the case if we accept the view that the Holocaust did not take place in another time or another place, but happened only Fifty years ago in what some considered to be one of the most 'civilised' counties of the world at the 'high' point of cultural achievement. Again I am 'lucky' in that I am not studying directly (say) the process of murder in the Extermination Camps, but an important source of information for the research are books that contain graphic details of murder and degradation, and which do leave one with a feeling of revulsion. There is no way around this. If this aspect of the Holocaust should elicit any reaction it is one of revulsion, but this should also be combined with a determination to tell people what happened and a commitment to education in the hope that through those means we can prevent it happening again. This has direct relevance to what is happening in the former Yugoslavia.

These are rather grand claims for a doctoral thesis, but it is only through education that we can begin to defend against other genocides. With the rise in recent years of Holocaust denial, this becomes all the more important. In any study it is vital to listen to yourself and take time away from the subject either to undertake other research or teaching if this is available within your institution. This will have a number of advantages not least of which is financial and will also be a refreshing change from the intensity of the main study. This however, needs to be balanced with the determination to continue. A doctorate is a long term project where perseverance and application are equally, if not more, important than academic 'brilliance', however that may be defined.

This chapter has ended with some thoughts on some of the issues that have to be considered when doing research of an emotionally sensitive nature, both for the researcher and the researched. Throughout my time as a research student I had 'off-days' when I wondered why I was studying the Holocaust or indeed doing a research degree at all, but I had a very supportive supervisor, friends and family who were always ready to help 'take me away from it all' both socially and academically. On a more personal level, I was also encouraged by the reaction of many of the people who I interviewed, who were pleased that someone from outside the Jewish community was interested and wanted to teach about the Holocaust. Although emotionally demanding, researching the Holocaust has been, and continues to be a privilege. To be able to meet and talk with survivors of the Holocaust has been an experience that I will never forget, and the courage that they have in being able to talk about their experiences is something I can only barely comprehend.

This thesis will therefore by part of my biography at the same time as being an investigation into the biography of the memorials and museums that seek to represent the Holocaust in the British landscape. However, as the biographer of Rosa Luxemburg has argued, it must be remembered that

> [t]here is no such thing as a "definitive biography". A biography is always a selection and therefore a biographer is always "biased". This is then a portrait with no glass and no frame.
> (Ettinger 1987, xv).

2

Theoretical Perspectives on Memorial Landscapes

This chapter will introduce a number of theoretical positions that have informed this investigation into Holocaust memorials and museums in late twentieth century Britain. In addition it will look at how these theoretical positions raise problems and opportunities for the study.

Landscapes of memory.

Lowenthal (1985) examined the development of the idea of memory as the key to self-development, seeing life as an interconnected narrative, where the adult 'self' is a product of childhood memories and identities. With the development of psychoanalytic methods of self analysis, memory is not seen as something fixed or immutable. The fragility of memory is sometimes all too apparent. We may forget a birthday, a name, a promise. We may even suppress an instance in our lives which is too embarrassing, too painful to remember. Something which threatens the stability of our personality is forgotten in order to rationalise and maintain power. The subjective nature of memory makes the act of remembering, for Lowenthal, both a "sure and dubious guide to the past" (185, 200). The truth or falsity of a memory in some ways is of little importance, its relationship with the past in the formation of identity is the same. "False recollection firmly believed becomes a fact in its own right", (ibid.) a parallel of the old adage that a lie often enough repeated becomes the truth.

Individual memory is a unique phenomenon and cannot be wholly validated or invalidated and false memory can be very resistant to 'enlightenment,' especially if it forms the basis of our self identity. Langer (1991) has argued that this is also true of the memory of the Holocaust as represented by survivor testimony. Narratives can be situated within a discourse of 'rupture', a part of the related process of making the testimony comforting and manageable for the audience by representing the episode as happening in another time and another

place. Another process has been identified which is for survivors to situate their narrative within an 'established' narrative of the events of the Holocaust.

If we accept the premise that the memory of an individual is unique, then it becomes very difficult to talk of something called a 'collective memory'. To talk of an individual repressing an event because he or she lacks an emotional or epistemological framework for assimilating it is one thing. But we lose sight of the many complex social, cultural and political forces which underpin national memory if we suggest that a society 'represses' memory because it is ashamed or because it is in its interest to do so. Rousso, who has studied the history and memory of Vichy in France, has suggested that 'collective memory' is a figment of the imagination, calling it a 'misleading composite of disparate and heterogeneous memories (1991, 2). Young, who has written extensively on Holocaust memorialisation, has suggested that a more appropriate way is to look at the many other, socially dynamic forces at play when a nation recalls the Holocaust. In this notion we have to examine 'collected', rather than 'collective' memory. 'Collected memory', in his words are, "the many discrete memories that are gathered into common meanings" (1994, xi).

A society's memory can therefore be suggested as the assembled collection of its members' many and often competing memories. Memory cannot exist outside the people who are doing the remembering, and each person's memory of a past event will be different. However, groups do share socially constructed assumptions and values that organise memory into roughly similar patterns. For example, my own experience of the Second World War is obviously second hand, but I would suggest that I grew up with an 'orthodox' version of the events of the war. I have a grandmother who made Halifax bombers, and a grandfather who served on a mine sweeper in the Mediterranean and who met at the V.E. celebrations in Dover, itself a very symbolic location in the memory of wartime Britain. I therefore grew up with stories of air-raids, near misses and heroism. We can share the forms of memory and even the meanings of

memory. Many people will share similar memories of Britain at war. Such memories of the Second World War may include the Blitz spirit, Dunkirk and Vera Lynn. These will be reinforced by various mnemonic sites or events such as a trip to the Imperial War Museum, the Tower Hill museum or the V.E. Day anniversary celebrations in London in 1995.

An individual's memory remains theirs alone but it is negotiated within the discursive framework of the Second World War, within 'our finest hour', 'alone against a diseased continent'. By retaining a notion of collected memory, an individual's memory remains unique. We maintain a realisation of the different memories, of an individual's personal relationship, again in Young's words with,

> the ways our traditions and cultural forms continuously assign common meaning to disparate memories.
> (Young 1993, xii).

In the sense that monuments and memorials are important symbolic sites in the articulation of a national identity, they give a focal point around which a vision of national identity can be forged, tied up with a sense of a shared past, pointing to a shared present and future. They are also part of the meanings passed down from generation to generation in our traditions, institutions and rituals. It is therefore necessary to examine the social and cultural practises whose purpose or effect is the representation of the past and the perpetuation of its memory. These are rooted in what Nora has termed 'Lieux de Memoire', or mnemonic sites, "where memory crystallises and secretes itself" (1989, 7).

Hussyen (1994) suggests however, that monuments should not be seen as permanent or 'concrete' either in their materiality, their symbolics, or their memory. They can be toppled in times of social upheaval as we have seen in the former Soviet Bloc, while others stand simply as figures of forgetting, their

meaning and original purpose eroded by the passage of time. New meanings can also be inscribed to the monument as different people bring different experiences and different memories to a memorial site. These rituals that surround the monuments are one of the ways in which they acquire meanings. Ritual, in this sense will be defined as a wide range of phenomena, including an individual visit to a memorial site or an organised service such as Yom Ha'shoah (Holocaust Memorial Day) or even desecration by way of physical defacement such as graffiti, which will also imbue the memorial with meaning. Young has suggested that,

> by themselves, monuments are of little value, mere stones in a landscape. But as part of a nation's rites or the objects of a people's national pilgrimage, they are invested with national soul and memory. (Young 1993, 2).

In the same way, a memorial can also be constructed as a site of resistance to a particular view point, a focal point for *disrupting* identity as well a shaping it. Memorials are therefore viewed in this thesis as sites of contestation, a terrain over which various actors fight with symbolic capital to control meaning. This is necessarily selective. As Rosenfeld has persuasively argued:

> The Nazi genocide of the Jews will not soon be forgotten, but how it is remembered depends overwhelmingly on what our memory chooses to recover or to refashion from the past, on what we choose to newly invent. (Rosenfeld 1986, in Wollaston 1996, 26).

Again, Young has suggested that,

> the creators of memorial texts necessarily reconstruct historical events, and so reflect as much their own understanding and experience as the actual events they would preserve.
> (Young 1986, 104).

Rituals are crucial to understanding the many, and often competing, meanings that a memorial site may have. [1] The importance that rituals have in the process of memorialisation is hard to dispute. They are often an ideological terrain over which debates concerning memory and national identity are worked and reworked. They also locate a mnemonic site in a particular discursive context. For example a mnemonic site that is unused and un-visited will have a different set of meanings than one that is the centre of ceremonies and rituals. Kushner (n.d.) has noted how the Brighton memorial to the Indian soldiers who died in the First World War "is now inaccessible, its gardens unkempt and stonework tatty - it is, in short, forgotten".

This is not to say, however, that such memorials have nothing to tell us about war memory in Britain. They are important precisely because they *are* forgotten, because they are outside the web of memory that defines what is included and excluded, and because they reflect the marginality of, in this case, the Indian war effort within hegemonic discourses of Britain at war.

Rituals are a language through which meanings and group identity are articulated. Rituals have

> an essentially expressive aspect. whether or not it is thought to be effective instrumentally as well. In every rite something is being said as well as being done.

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[1] The main ritual that uses the Hyde Park Memorial Garden as a focus is the Yom Ha'shoah service organised by the YVC that took place at the Hyde Park Holocaust Memorial Garden until 1997 when it was moved to Logan Hall in central London. The main methodological tool that I used to investigate the service was participant observation. See below for a discussion of this methodological tool.

(Beattie 1964, in Bilton et al 1996, 557)

In the context of Holocaust mnemonic sites, the rituals that surround them are important as, in addition to attempting to define and structure Holocaust memory, they indicate the contemporary meanings that the Holocaust has within a particular society. As Young has argued when discussing the memorial function of Yad Vashem within Israel's Holocaust memory:

> It is the first site visited by foreign dignitaries on their way to meet with Israel's leaders. The obligatory wreath-laying at the Hall of Remembrance reminds all not just that six million Jews died but that other nations did so little to prevent the massacre. As a ceremonial preamble to state talks at any level, such a visit provides more than a little negotiating leverage, since subsequent discussions are thus conducted with the Holocaust in mind. (Young 1993, 260).

In coming as a penitent, the visiting dignitary acts out a performative expression of the symbolic capital that Israel has after the Holocaust. The ritual thus continually reinforces the continuum between the Holocaust and the state of Israel as well as influencing contemporary political relations between Israel and the rest of the world.

It is pertinent here to distinguish between memorials and monuments. Following Young's assertion that to confine 'memorial' to a term synonymous with loss and a 'monument' to that of heroism is confusing as well as limiting because heroic sculpture as well as gravestones can be sites of remembrance of lost loved ones and memorials can also be rallying points for heroic action. Therefore, in this thesis, the definition 'memorial' will be used for the range of mnemonic devices, such as books, days, institutions, and physical monuments that are used in order to perpetuate memory. 'Monument' will be used for the physical form as commonly understood, such as a sculpture, obelisk etc.

It is with great difficulty that the Holocaust fits in with our collected memory of the Second World War. In contrast with the heroic stories that were told to me by my grandparents, my next door neighbour's experience of the war was somewhat different. All I knew of his wartime experiences was that he had been part of a tank regiment during the war. It was not until a year after his death that I learned that he was one of the first people into Belsen after its liberation in 1945.

The contradiction between the different communication of the stories told to me by my grandparents and my next door neighbour, helps illustrate Britain's complex relationship with the Second World War. My next door neighbour was not alone in his reluctance in speaking about his wartime experience. For some, it was only in 1995 that they decided to speak for the first time. The interest generated by the 50th anniversary of the liberation of the camps reassured many that there *were* people out there who wanted to hear. Their experiences when they returned from the war or came to Britain as refugees made them decide to keep quiet for a number of reasons. For many, they understandably wanted to move on. The horror that they had faced was not something that they wanted to forget; on the contrary forgetting for any survivor is impossible, but they put their efforts into rebuilding their lives, rather than public commemoration. As Ben Helfgott, chair of the YVC maintained,

> most of the people who were either directly or indirectly involved were so severely shaken. They suffered so much during the war that after the war it was a question of rebuilding, of regeneration, of starting a new life. [2]

[2] Ben Helfgott, personal communication, 29/8/95.

For many, the experience too, was that of ambivalence or even hostility from the people that they met when they came to Britain. There was an unwillingness to accept or believe that these things were possible even after the widespread reporting that the Holocaust received in the British press after 1942. This reluctance to hear the voices of the survivors came in part through the difficulty in comprehending the experiences of those that had survived the camps. A common reaction from those whom they encountered was, "we've suffered too. We had rationing and the Blitz".

The motivations for memory of such events are many and varied. Wollaston has identified a number of themes that run through motivation for Holocaust memorialisation: as a tombstone, providing a focus for mourning related to the need to construct something concrete and tangible to commemorate the loss of the murdered millions and as a source of education. In the case of museums, they may also be seen as a repository of knowledge. All, Wollaston argues, are part of a desire to maintain memory of the Holocaust and in her evocative phrase, to "etch the memory of events into the landscape", in order to preserve a fragment of the destroyed world, or as a "counter-argument": an assertion that what is gone will not be forgotten (Wollaston 1996, 36).

However, as she rightly points out, these issue feed into a more fundamental debate as to the nature of memorial space. To illustrate this, Wollaston takes the views of Marcuse and Young to explain the different conceptions about how memorials and memorial space function in the making of memory. Marcuse argues that the value of a memorial in the perpetuation of memory can be ascertained by relating the "accuracy and sufficiency" of information that they convey. This, however, fails to understand the complex relationship between memorial and visitor. As Young has argued,

> The activity of Holocaust memorialisation takes place first between events and memorial, then between memorials and viewers, and, finally between viewers and their lives in the light of the memorialised past.

(Young, 1993, 210).

This has fundamental implications for the role that memorials are expected to play in the perpetuation of memory. In Young's conceptualisation of memorials, the memorial's message is ambiguous: it is generated by the interaction between the preconceptions of the visitor and the context in which it is viewed. Wollaston's example is the differences in the functions of Auschwitz depending on whether it is viewed through the context of a Papal service or the March of the Living, but an equally valid example is the different messages that could be read from the Cenotaph in Whitehall during any number of marches and commemorative events that use the monument as a focus. [3] This leads to an acceptance of the plurality of memory, a recognition that memory is situated and that different versions of events are true from different perspectives. In terms of memorialisation,

> we remind ourselves of the memorial's essential fragility, its dependence on others for its life; that it was made by human hands in human times and places, that it is no more a natural piece of the landscape than we are.
> (Young 1993, 14).

Before examining the complex way in which various sections within British society have attempted to memorialise the Holocaust, or indeed *not* to memorialise the Holocaust, it is necessary to look at the different ways in which both geographers and those from other disciplines have theorised notions of memorial and of the memorial landscape. Memorials and museums have also received an increasing amount of attention from Human Geographers who have looked at the way that they show up certain power relations within

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[3] The 'March of the Living' is a pilgrimage to Auschwitz-Birkenau by young Jews from around the world as a sign that the final victory was not with the Nazis and that their plan to exterminate the Jewish people was ultimately unsuccessful. See chapter four for a more detailed discussion of the place of the Cenotaph in British war memory and of the various groups that use it.

society. The next section will therefore review recent work on mnemonic sites by geographers and how they have built on the work of Young and others in order to explore the ways that space is important in the construction of memory and meaning.

Geography and monuments.

In the last five years, there has been a burgeoning literature within Geography on the way that monuments form an important component in the symbolic landscape of national, religious, class and gendered identities. Monk (1992) showed how public monuments in Western Societies give messages that can be 'read' to reveal the dominant values in society, reflecting and supporting ideologies of gender inequality which assumes the masculine experience of landscape as the universal one.

> Though such monuments might seem to function largely as backdrops in daily life, they are intended to commemorate what we value and to instruct us in our heritage through visible expressions on the landscape. (Monk 1992,124).

The landscape in Western society is seen as a reflection of male power. Women, where they do figure, usually symbolise something else. Monk therefore suggests that the monumental landscape reflects "the gender relations in everyday life", (ibid., 126) where the inequalities in the public and private spheres are transposed onto the symbolic landscape.

However, the relationship between inequalities of any sort and their representation in the landscape is not simply a mirror image. A memorial will not just be the representation of a particular world view, but rather the result of complex negotiations and compromises between various interested parties.

Johnson in 1994, wrote about the heroic histories that monuments helped to create in celebrating the centenary of the 1798 rebellion in Ireland, suggesting

> monuments were not just decorative appendages erected to beautify cities and towns, and their location within public space was no historical accident. They represented self-conscious attempts to solicit public participation in the politics of the day.
> (Johnson 1994, 78).

The symbolic significance of such monuments was referenced by the contestation over their spatial location. Certain locations take on an importance due to their location within a network of material and immaterial sites. Thus the proposal to situate the Loyalist Albert memorial in a prominent public space within Dublin was rejected by the predominantly Nationalist municipal authority whose "reluctance to allocate public space for the erection of the memorial resonates with the symbolic significance they attached to it"(ibid., 83).

In the context of this study, I would suggest that Hyde Park, the location of the Board of Deputies' Holocaust Memorial Garden, is also a very important symbolic site. It is an arena over which British (or rather English) national identity has and *is* being contested and (re)formed. It contains within it such notable icons as Speaker's corner and the Wellington Memorial and it is also a site used in many popular protests and demonstrations, including those against the Criminal Justice Bill. Hyde Park is a contested terrain of memorialisation across which various discourses of national identity, the exclusivity of British history (see Kushner, nd.) and of free speech are played out. As McIlvenney has argued:

> Hyde Park can be understood to be a *culturally landscaped public space* - a location of culture or signification in an imaginary geo-discursive landscape - that erupted as a meeting place for speech making and

> dissent at a particular period in English industrial history in the 19th Century, when the enfranchisement of the 'population' and 'the masses was stepped up, and colonialism was in full swing, yet increasingly resisted" (McIlvenney 1996, 10. Emphasis in original).

The meanings that a Holocaust monument in Hyde Park will generate are therefore negotiated through that particular site and the significations that it will have.

Along with memorials, I would argue that museums are also an important part of the symbolic landscape in the sense that they are also a signifier of the relationship between the Holocaust and British national identity; i.e. the version of the Holocaust that is represented within a museum will have a direct, although by no means exclusive, impact of the 'story' of the Holocaust that is known. As it will be argued below, museums have a legitimising function in the way that they speak with authority and seek to impose order on any particular set of events. Using the Foucaudian notion of "disciplinary technologies", Hooper-Greenhill (1989) traced the changing nature of the museum within a "disciplinary society" and showed how the museum was an important factor in the production and regulation of knowledge in post revolutionary France.

> The museum was a crucial instrument that enable (sic) the construction of a new set of values that at once discredited the *ancien régime* and celebrated the republic.
> (Hooper-Greenhill 1989,71).

This thesis will also therefore examine a number of museums or, more accurately, museum projects seeking to represent the Holocaust which have originated in the UK since the end of the Second World War. In order to situate these museums in their museological context, the next section will examine both

the 'disciplinary' function of museums and also contemporary debates over the heritage industry.

Geography and Museums.

'Tourism' and 'heritage' have increasingly become a major factor in the economic life in Britain during the 1980s, so much so that by the middle years of that decade, tourism was Britain's second largest earner of foreign currency (Fowler, 1992, 6). This has prompted a burgeoning literature of the way that tourism and heritage affect the way that Britain's past is remembered. Inter alia, Horne 1984, Hewison 1987, Uzzel 1989, Boylan 1992, Walsh 1992 and Lowenthal 1996, have all looked at the ways that the past is represented in museums and heritage sites. Perhaps more importantly, the ways that our representations of the past reflect the social, cultural and economic context of the present are beginning to be explored.

To work towards an understanding of how museums and heritage shape our knowledge of the past, it is necessary to examine the rise and development of the museum. Museums emerged as part of the public culture of modern industrial societies. In the social and economic upheavals brought about by the move from an Agrarian to an Industrial society, museums were a unifying vehicle where all were presented as (differentiated) participants in a visible public culture (Horne 1984, 63). As early as 1753, the British Museum Act made many of the most important museums a public (i.e. government) responsibility. Before this period, there was a distinctly separate Ruling and Folk culture that only intersected at certain points (Scott 1992). Museums then, purported to represent the national life of the newly fashioned nation state and provide a national version of the past. This representation of the past had particular characteristics, and provided a way of explaining the world that rested on a

number of underlying assumption, linked to new ideas about the making of the social world.

These ideas gained in importance during the nineteenth century, most notably when Darwinian notions of evolution, within which the idea of 'progress' was central, gained widespread acceptance. The past was shown as an unstoppable linear progression that ended in the present. At the same time, classification that had already begun with Linnaeus in the eighteenth century became more widespread when many of the major typologies began to emerge: for example the construction of pre-history into three 'Great Ages' (Horne 1984).

The importance of museums and heritage have been recognised in human geography for some time. Coombes, (1988) has stressed the idea of the Imperial Exhibitions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as crucial in the creation of 'world views'. The Franco-British exhibition of 1908, held at White City was, in her words, a "spectacle unit", a "site of construction of national unity", within the political context of consolidation rather than expansion of British Imperial interests at the time, and the concerns over the physical and mental health of the working class due to the development of Social Darwinist theories and the Eugenics movement. Horne (1984) identified the growth of museums as a form of inclusionist project. The 1908 exhibition was to be an exhibition for the people, designed to convince the working class that its welfare and interests lay in a strong Empire. Thus the entrance fees for East End children were paid for them and special provision was made for working class groups.

The exhibition was also part of the construction of national culture. Discourses of extinction and preservation were applied to communities in the UK, and 'folk culture' was used to educate the young with the correct patriotic attitude. The spatial proximity of the exhibits to those representing life in the colonies, accentuated the difference between the rural 'primitive' of Europe and their

counterparts in the colonies. The exhibition presented the 'simple' European communities as superior to those in the colonies.

As well as the exhibits, the buildings that house the museum will have a symbolic function. This can take the form of a specific layout of the display rooms such as in the Historical museum at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem where, when one moves physically from one display room to another, one also moves from one historical era to another (see Young 1993), but can also take the form of the design of the building itself. Markus, in 1993, suggested that buildings and settlements are the most important products of material cultures and are loaded with symbolic meaning.

The form of a building arouses strong sentiments, both positive and negative, as recent debates over the design of the new British Library illustrate. When looking at the symbolic meanings of buildings we must therefore ask a variety of questions including; what kind of thing do buildings mean? How do they do so? Have they the same meaning for everyone, and do these meanings change over time? An interesting example of this is Harvey's study on the symbolic significance of the Sacre Coeur where the situation of a church dominating the skyline of nineteenth century France is a symbolic act of national redemption by an alliance of Church and State that had been shaken to its foundation by defeat in the Franco-Prussian war and the Paris Commune (Harvey 1979).

The narratives of the Holocaust that are represented in the mnemonic site will also be affected by, and will vary greatly dependent on its location. Mais has asked "are there different Holocausts?" He suggests that although the historical event that we call the Holocaust may remain the same, its representations in a historical museum, and I would argue, in any mnemonic site

> are not all identical in their content, emphasis, nuance and especially, not in their goals or messages.
> (Mais 1993, 14).

Using Hilberg's (1993) definitional categories of victims, perpetrators and bystanders, Mais argues that the meanings that a museum portrays will be dependent on which of these categories has most attention placed upon it. The overall impression will be determined by

> the degree of symmetry and proportion given to each of the historical components when the composite story line of the Holocaust is presented either in a school curriculum or in a museum exhibit.
> (Mais 1993, 14).

He then argues that the narrative portrayed will be a function of the local interests of the visitors and the message that the museum wishes to give to these visitors. To illustrate these ideas he examines the way in which three countries whom he associates with Hilberg's categories: Israel (victim), Germany (perpetrator) and the United States of America (bystanders) hypothetically would tell their story of the Holocaust.

According to Mais, an Israeli memorial institution or, one "outside Israel with a clearly defined Jewish agenda", would take as its focus the Jewish experience during the Holocaust. In relation to displays dealing with "the fate and responses of the victims" the space devoted to perpetrators and bystanders would be small. The exhibitions should also emphasis other aspects of Jewish life during Nazi rule such as spiritual and military resistance to the Holocaust. A concentration on the Jews as victims, Mais argues, would reinforce the "lachrymose theory" of Jewish history as well as failing to provide a "positive role model" and creating a sense of ambivalence amongst Jewish visitors.

Museums and exhibitions within Germany would focus more attention on the role of the perpetrators, asking questions of German visitors such as

> how did a nation and people with whom I share a common history, language and cultural tradition evolve into the Nazi state with its moral transgressions and the murder of millions of innocent men, women and children? (Ibid., 15).

The question of relevancy must also be addressed within a museum in the United States of America, who can be categorised as 'bystanders'. In order to avoid the problem that the Holocaust could be dismissed as "sectarian suffering" by one group of people (the Jews)

> [t]he emphasis of the American response has to be on ways to "connect" to the events of the Holocaust. It is only logical that this dimension be given more space and attention in an American museum than in one in Israel or in Germany. (Ibid., 15).

One way of making this connection, Mais suggests, is to 'universalise' the Holocaust, to incorporate why the Holocaust is not just a Jewish problem or a German problem, but a problem for the whole of Humanity. Mais also highlights a danger with this approach as the necessary focus on the "evil deeds" and the "lack of efforts to prevent them" might leave the visitor with the impression that the Jews are a "persecuted people who did little to countenance the terrible persecution inflicted upon them".

The mnemonic sites in the UK will theoretically fall into two categories: that of the 'victim' and that of the 'bystander'. Although Britain as a whole was a bystander nation, what little Holocaust memorialisation there has been, has been undertaken by the Anglo-Jewish community and will therefore, according

to Mais' model, theoretically concentrate on the Jewish victims of the Holocaust.

This model is a useful tool in beginning to understand the representation of the Holocaust displayed at a particular mnemonic site. However, I would argue that location must be understood at the level of the local as well as the national and needs to be understood as not just a physical position in space, but in a symbolic and discursive sense. [4]

Memorials and museums are thus an important component in what can be termed the 'symbolic landscape', a geographical concept that has become prominent within Cultural Geography in the last fifteen years and which will be used as the theoretical underpinning of this examination of Holocaust memorials and museums in Britain. The next section therefore comprises of a discussion of the landscape tradition within geography, detailing its relevance to this study, as well as a number of theoretical and methodological failings which hinder its usefulness.

Geography and Landscape: The Landscape as 'text'.

In the past fifteen years especially, the notion of 'landscape' and the ways that it helps us examine the world that we live in have become central to cultural geography. It has become an important site of contestation in the discussions about how (cultural) geographers actually *do* geography. The feminist critique of the geographical 'gaze' and its inherently masculinist form of knowledge, as

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[4] It needs to be understood, however, that this model is built on ideological assumptions about the nature of the victims and the perpetrators. For example, it asserts the primacy of the Jewish experience of the Holocaust at the expense of other groups, such as gypsies, communist, Polish and Russian nationals and the mentally and physically handicapped. In addition, his assertion of the "undesirability" of a museum in Germany placing a "heavy emphasis on the bystander or lack of world response" as this might let the Germans 'off the hook', is underpinned by the ideological construction that the German population under the Nazis was somehow

well as the 'crisis of representation' that has affected all of the social sciences, have both been played out over the 'landscape'. Thus the landscape is both something to be seen *and* a way of seeing in its own right (Cosgrove 1983, 1984; Berger 1972).

Perhaps the major development within cultural geography during this "interpretative turn" (Ley 1985) was the use of the metaphor of the landscape as a 'text' that could be read. This has become the dominant theme within cultural geography since the early 1980s, and has been characterised by a growing sensitivity to both other 'voices' who wish to interpret the world, and also to our role as geographers. Reviewing 'cultural/humanistic' geography in 1985 Ley, hopeful of a coming together of these sub-disciplines, suggested that seeing the 'landscape as a text' could be one way in which this could be achieved. Landscapes, especially postmodern landscapes,

> may be read interpretively as a text, as a product which expresses a distinctive culture of ideas and practises, of often oppositional social groups and political relationships...[a] careful reading of the built environment might reveal distinctive values towards heritage, ecology, social relations and a mass culture.
> (Ley 1985, 419).

Duncan and Duncan (1988) have used insights from literary theory and applied them to the analysis of landscapes. Landscapes are seen as texts which can be 'read' to understand the metamorphosis of ideologies into a substantive form. These ideologies are realised in the landscape and reflect certain power relations within society. Once these landscapes are accepted, the ideologies are naturalised and are therefore harder to examine or even appreciate that they are there in the first place. Domination - the "taking of prime space, control of

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fundamentally different to those rest of Europe. See also Browning (1992) and Goldhagen (1997) for differing conceptions of the specificity of the German racism.

space or creation of space so as to effect control (Winchester, 1990) - and legitimisation - the "use of power or authority to validate this control" - are at work in this naturalising process. This is involved in many aspects of the landscape from churches being situated on top of hills to symbolise ecclesiastical power or the Paris Opera House symbolising the wealth and opulence of the Second Empire in France (Woolf, 1988). However, as Woolf's study of the Opera House shows 'simple' readings of the landscape are dangerous, and may be a "simplification, obscuring complicated historical processes". The wealth of the Paris Opera and the lifestyle that it symbolised were restricted to a small proportion of the Parisian population, and it became an image of the way that wealth hid the era's poverty. We must remember that,

> each person or group views, uses and constructs the landscape in different ways; these are neither 'right' or 'wrong,' but rather are part of the many layers of meanings within one landscape.
> (Winchester 1990, 140).

This theoretical position can be used on a number of different scales. Daniels (1993), has looked at the relationship between national identity and landscape. He suggest that

> national identities are co-ordinated, often largely defined, by 'legends and landscapes' by stories of golden ages, enduring traditions, heroic deeds and dramatic destinies located in ancient or promised home-lands with hallowed sites and scenery.
> (Daniels 1993, 5).

The imagined community of a nation is given shape by the "symbolic activation of time and space" which involves the telling of stories of "golden ages, enduring traditions heroic deeds and dramatic destinies, isolated in ancient or promised homelands with hallowed sites and scenery" (ibid.). We might think

of many examples ranging from the 'St. Crispin's day' speech in Shakespeare's Henry the Fifth through hymns like 'Jerusalem' to contemporary advertising that depicts England as a rural idyll. These become national icons that are focal points in the project of national identity. London as the metropolitan centre is another symbolic centre where a number of these national icons are located. Daniels devotes a chapter to St. Paul's Cathedral, examining the contestation over the built environment within architectural discourses of aesthetics.

There have been a number of critiques of the landscape as text metaphor. Silverman, in 1990 criticised the anthropologist Geertz for his use of the textual metaphor and these criticisms hold true of its use within geography too. He has suggested that there are a number of troubling aspects of Geertz's work: cultural texts are essentialist in that they 'fix' meaning and are therefore constructed as unambiguous. Cultures and cultural texts are thus seen as homogenous, integrated wholes with stability resulting from the continuous momentum of a changing society. This view implies an objective reality in that the 'text' is the product of an historically specific moment which is continually referenced "regardless of the conditions surrounding its subsequent readings" (ibid., 151).

A different view of the 'text' which relies heavily on the work of Barthes suggests that different readers see different meanings and even different 'texts'. Meaning is constructed within specific socio-historical 'fields', from individual action and social practice rather than emanating from a vacuum. Meaning is also always contested, and we must not take the single public discourse as representative of the essential meaning of a landscape (see also Scott's (1990) work on the "hidden transcript" as a critique of hegemony).

Another of the main criticisms of the idea of landscape as text has come from the feminist perspective which sees landscape as a construct of masculine power and desire. Pleasure in the landscape is a threat to the theoretical or

scientific way of knowing (Rose, 1992). Landscape painting as a way of seeing is patrician, seen and understood from the social position of the landowner. It echoes the bourgeois pleasure in possession. She criticises Daniels for still suggesting that it also expresses something profound about the human condition. The gaze at the landscape is a visual ideology, showing only the relationship of the powerful to the environment. For her the important point is that class relations are not the only form of ideological relations which structure the landscape. Gender is also implicated. At this point I would like to add that discourses of race and sexuality are also implicated in our representations of the landscape (for example, see Jackson's (1992) work on the reporting of the 'inner city riots' during the early 1980s, and also Valentine's (1993) work on the sexualising of public and private space). [5]

Tied to the feminist critique of the metaphor of landscape as text, a contradiction in the way that geographers have used this notion has been identified. In 'Writing Worlds,' a book specifically dealing with the idea of landscape, Barnes and Duncan (1992) stress the "objective fixity" of landscape, a solidification of meaning necessary in order to try and retain some interpretative validity, despite continually stressing that the landscape is open to interpretation and contestation. Thus "the only landscape representations which seem able to retain their interpretative certainty are the geographers themselves"(Rose 1993). They are therefore removed from the interpretative rules that are applied to others. The dominant position is retained, landscapes being explained for others and the (male) geographical interpreter is made invisible as "his texts then remain part of the anonymous voice of hegemonic geographical discourse". Rose then goes on to argue for a feminine relationship

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[5] An interesting example of the debates surrounding the ideological aspects of landscape representation is the discussion surrounding the painting "Mr. and Mrs. Andrews" by Gainsborough. Daniels, (1989) following on from Berger's (1972) work suggested that the painting was propaganda for the landed gentry helping to naturalise and hence mystify the social relations of production. But it is important to remember that they are not *both* landowners. Mr. Andrews in whose name the property was in stands active, ready to go off with his dog shooting. Mrs. Andrews however, seems rooted to the spot, echoing the tree behind her, giving an indication as to her role in reproducing the 'family tree'. In this respect, Mrs. Andrews becomes herself part of nature (Rose, 1992).

with landscape that is non-essentialist, offering no single better alternative. Feminist geographers should,

> self consciously manipulate the notion of femininity in order to subvert hegemonic ways of seeing without imposing an alternative which could only assert a specific femininity as universal in an equally repressive manner.
> (Ibid.)

This view had also been discussed by Sontag in 'Against Interpretation' (1967) who argued for a more instinctual way of looking at art and perhaps the way that geographers look at the landscape can also benefit. The important point is not to believe that a certain work of art (or landscape) can be 'captured' by any one interpretation. All interpretations, like all representations are partial and there is always something (the ambiguity of meaning) that escapes the interpreter.

However, Cosgrove and Domosh (1993) have suggested that this refusal to privilege one cultural discourse over another poses the problem of authority within cultural geography's postmodern turn. For them, geographical writing is a "process of creating and inscribing meanings about our spaces and places" (ibid.). Therefore we need to look very carefully at our own re-reading of these spaces and places and show that our writings are very much part of us. They are not aloof, objective, rational or dispassionate, but intrinsically bound up with our gender, class, ethnicity, sexuality and political persuasion. Therefore our geographical 'perspective,' our "story is related to and constitutive of our social experience, full of moral and political discourse" (ibid.). This also contains within it a number of problems. A realisation that our 'story' is but one among many leaves us open to the charge of relativism. The power that a meta-narrative has of 'truth,' of being able to speak for all is given away, and this, in the words of Cosgrove and Domosh "courts oppression" (ibid.). The

power relations between a claim to universal 'truth' on one hand and subjective 'truth' on the other are unequal within scientific discourse which privileges omnipresent laws and generality. Feminist theorists have exposed the naturalising proclivity of geographers' perspective on the landscape and it must now be acknowledged that a single essential view of the landscape or of methodology is a thing of the past.

These set of issues have important implications both for the study as a whole, and for participant-observation, the main methodological tool that I have used to explore the meanings that are being constructed at the annual Yom Ha'shoah service organised by the YVC of the Board of Deputies (see chapter four). [6] The next section will therefore examine both participant-observation as a research methodology and my own negotiation of the politics of research.

Participant-observation and the construction of knowledge.

Participant-observation is closely allied with ethnographic techniques which, as qualitative research methodologies, are used to understand how people make sense of their lives and the world around them. Essentially it is no more than using the social skills that we employ everyday in order to make sense of our lives, to make them and our relations with friends and strangers knowable. Such techniques have, to some extent, always been present within geographical research (Razzell 1980). The Chicago School of Urban Sociology conducted detailed ethnographic studies into the ways of life associated with particular social groups in certain areas and produced many sensitive accounts, including

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[6] I participated in the audience of the service from 1995 to 1997. Although I undertook an extensive press search for commentary on the service in both the Jewish and non-Jewish press, the only mentions that it received were in the Jewish Chronicle. This ghettoisation of the Holocaust within a purely Jewish media space is nonetheless telling in that it references both the lack of interest outside the Jewish community but also the unwillingness of the Jewish community to advertise the service to a wider public.

Anderson's 1923 study of 'Hobohemia' and Cressey on the taxi dance hall (1932) (cited in Jackson 1985).

These studies were influential on later work by humanistic and cultural geographers such as Ley's (1974) work on Inner City Philadelphia and Jackson's (1988) work in Chicago, part of what Ley (1985) termed "[a]n Interpretative Turn" in Human Geography through the 1970s and early 1980s, which refocused interest in the ethnographic tradition. This was partly a reaction against quantitative methods, and a wish for a greater understanding and sensitivity to the complexity of human beings and in particular to how they perceive and interpret people and the world.

These studies were also influenced by the anthropology of Geertz who formalised his ethnography as 'thick' journalistic description, making use of semiotic interpretation to understand culture as a complex network of verbal and non-verbal signs and symbols by which and through which people at certain times and spaces make sense of the world they inhabit. The task of the anthropologist, and in consequence the human geographer using ethnographic techniques, is therefore the unravelling of these meanings to achieve a hermeneutic understanding (Geertz 1973).

However, this is far from unproblematic and undertaking participant-observation raises a number of ethical and methodological issues. Madge has asked the question "What does ethical research mean?" Is it "research that does no harm, gains informed consent from and respects the rights of, the individuals being studied?" (1994, 92). She suggests that this would "paralyse" all of research in the social sciences, for it is rare that we can gauge, let alone establish the potential consequences of our research. It should have the potential 'to do good', and this means empowering the people that are being researched with a voice.

The first ethical implication of undertaking participant-observation, and perhaps any research, is the issue as to whether it should be undertaken covertly or overtly. The arguments for covert research are that the research may well influence the people that she is studying. Their behaviour may be affected by the presence of someone with a notebook whom they see as analysing their behaviour and actions. Against this there are moral arguments about honesty, integrity and respect for fellow human beings. These are important in their own right, but the nature of the self also needs to be examined if the influence that a researcher has on the object of his study is to be evaluated. Smith (1988) has argued that the present day notion of the self is historically specific. Prior to the nineteenth century the common idea was of the separation of the soul and mind. However, with the increasing prominence of symbolic interactionism, especially after Mead's (1934) *Mind, Self and Society*, 'self' attained far greater significance. It was thereafter not seen as something innate, but as the socially constructed focus round which all our social processes revolve.

The 'self' then, is continually negotiated within society: it is "culture internalised", the combination of the social and symbolic, which changes with interaction between selves (Smith, 1988). Smith concludes that it would therefore be arrogant to suppose that the course of people's actions and lives would be affected by the researcher's presence and perhaps the real issue is rather the reverse: how engaging with the 'researched' affects the researcher.

The adequacy of our representations of the individual pale before the potential misconceptions when talking about societies and groups. We are complex beings. The self we present to others is not necessarily a product of own self-knowledge. "Public identity is a transformation of the self, not an equivalent expression of it" (Cohen 1992, 235). This complexity is magnified if the ethnographer is trying to reconstruct the multiple and often competing messages that may be represented in a group situation (see also chapter one for

a parallel argument about memory and the difficulties in talking about 'collective memory'). I therefore decided to undertake overt ethnography during the period of study. In addition to the points outlined above, my relationship with many of those who were conducting the service was such that I was unable to undertake covert research as they knew me to be undertaking research on Holocaust memorialisation.

As to the effect which I had on the Yom Ha'shoah service in Hyde Park, the answer would have to be very little. There was simply not the time to build up any 'friendships' and I gave no overt signals that I was analysing the proceedings. For example, I made no notes during the service as I deemed it inappropriate at that time. Apart from a few security guards who eyed me suspiciously as I sat and observed the people arriving at the first service I attended in 1995, the one person who I may have influenced was a Jewish Veteran of the Second World War. It was to him that I articulated my anxieties of being an 'outsider', especially with respect to my having forgotten to bring any head covering with me, and so was a little worried that I would be giving great offence to Anglo-Jewry for not observing Jewish custom. He reassured me, and although he had his kippa with him, my interpretation is that he chose not to wear it so that I would not feel so 'out of place'.

This 'inaccessibility' of other people's self knowledge is a problem whenever we try and analyse and explain other people. Cohen (1992) suggests that to pronounce this self-knowledge as 'out of bounds', indistinct due to our conceptual inadequacies would render the conduct of anthropology and, I would argue, the interpretative turn in Human Geography, impossible. Therefore we have to use the complexity that we attribute to ourselves to lessen the tendency to generalise about the 'self' of the 'Other', breaking down the unhelpful dichotomy which constructs the singular culture of those we represent whilst highlighting the multifacidness of our own personalities.

Throughout my research I have therefore tried to avoid such generalisation of the feelings and ideologies of the other people taking part in the service and to undertake research that does not inscribe a homogeneous response to people being studied. This is in order to maintain a realisation that the representation of the Holocaust will be divergent and often conflicting, depending on a number of social and cultural factors such as age, religion or degree of religiosity, gender, class sexuality and relationship with the Holocaust, i.e. survivor, Second Generation and so on.

The information constructed by this methodology was therefore added to by in-depth semi-structured interviews with those service organisers who would agree to speak with me. [7] Sources such as letters to the JC are quoted wherever relevant to give an indication of the response of those who took part in the service.

The relationship between the 'self' and 'other' has also been explored in debates over what has been termed the 'crisis of representation' common to all social sciences. This is the understanding that ethnographic description is inevitably bound up with the positioning of the author. The ethnographic record is not just a factual account of the *real world as it is*, but that it is shaped by ethical and political representations. Therefore, according to Clifford, (1986) ethnographies are "always caught up with the invention, not the representation of culture" (1986, 2). The emphasis is then shifted to concerns with the literary devices and conventions used in the 'writing-up' of ethnographic accounts, such as metaphor, figuration and narrative. He suggests that ethnographic texts are now commonly described as 'fictions' a word which revives the connotation of the active *production* of the ethnographic text. This acknowledges the "partiality of cultural and historical truths, the ways they are symptomatic and exclusive",

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[7] As outlined in chapter one, my approach to dealing with any research, but especially that on such a sensitive subject as the Holocaust, has been to accept that the power relations evident within the research-researched relationship are, and should be in favour of the researched who have a right to refuse, for whatever reason to be interviewed.

and that the "maker of ethnographic texts can not avoid expressive tropes, figures and allegories that select and impose meaning as they translate it" (1986, 7).

Ethnographic 'truths' are intrinsically partial. The ethical dimensions of this statement are taken within the construction of the text by Price (1983) who undertook an anthropological study among the Saramakas, a Maroon society of Surinam. To reinforce the notion of the construction of knowledge as within an "open-ended series of contingent, power-laden encounters", he published his study in a series of fragments to show up the imperfection of a mode of knowledge that *can not* 'fill all the gaps', rather than to highlight the gaps within his knowledge of that culture (in Clifford, 1986).

The end of the direct political control of colonialism and the destabilising of hegemonic colonial discourse and political projects have meant that the anthropologist can no longer speak with automatic authority for the 'other'. The 'other' can less easily be distanced in time and space, represented as removed from the present and the power structures that involve the researcher and her world. This has been combined with a critique of the adequacies of representation itself. Alternative philosophical and theoretical positions, especially Postmodernism, and alternative epistemologies such as Feminism have launched an on-going critique of Western discourses and the way that Western thought has *made sense* of the world. As Clifford has argued,

> [t]he conviction that what appears as 'real' in history, the social sciences, the arts, even in common sense, is always analysable as a restrictive and expressive set of social codes and conventions.
> (Clifford 1986, 10).

It is therefore more important to look at how we can speak meaningfully about the world rather than how we can speak well.

One of the ways in which this can be attempted is by using the work of Bourdieu (1982) on symbolic power. The final section in this chapter therefore assesses Bourdieu's work and its implications for understanding memorial landscapes as well as giving some examples of how the landscape can be 'read' to reveal such manifestations of symbolic power.

Symbolic Power and Landscape.

In an attempt to explore the "social relations of power", this thesis will utilise Bourdieu's (1982) work on symbolic capital in order to explain the various way that the production and consumption of memorials constitute an important component in what he terms a symbolic struggle over the perception of the social world. This struggle may take two forms. Firstly, it can operate on the objective level, where action in the form of acts of representation are used to show up and off certain realities. For example when Trade Unions organise picket lines after (say) a wage dispute, it is a demonstration of the materiality of the group itself: its number, cohesion and so on. Secondly, this struggle operates on the subjective level as well, where agents try to change the categories of perception and evaluation of the social world, for example, in the changing way that mental health has been looked upon in society (see Foucault, 1961).

In the symbolic struggle for the production of common sense, agents put into action the symbolic capital that they have acquired in previous struggles and which can be juridicially guaranteed. Bourdieu gives the examples of title of nobility, or education certificates, and in the context of this discussion we can see museums in the same light. The symbolic capital that each agent possesses is therefore obviously not uniform, and therefore not all judgements carry the same weight. For example the pronouncements of a Professor of History on the

origins of the Second World War would be more likely to be believed that those of an undergraduate.

Those with large amounts of symbolic capital are at a further advantage as they are in a position to impose scales of values most favourable to their products, mainly because they usually are in control of the institutions which officially establish and guarantee rank.

> A credential such as a school diploma is a piece of universally recognised and guaranteed symbolic power, good on all markets. As an official definition of an official identity, it frees its holder from the symbolic struggle of all against all by imposing the universally approved perspective.
> (Bourdieu 1982, 135).

The State itself can act as a guarantor of symbolic capital, and the agents who work on behalf of the State such as Civil Servants, are appointed to produce an 'official view' of the world which is deemed as having greater authority than other individual points of view. At the same time this usually confers power on the holder of the symbolic capital. It must be remembered however, that there is never a monopoly on the production of knowledge and of the production of a 'common sense' world view. There are always the competing notions of different symbolic powers who aim to impose their vision of legitimate divisions.

An understanding of the symbolic power that produces a particular world view is vital in any appreciation of the ways that museums and memorials shape our notions of the past. Bourdieu explains how symbolic power is transformed into the 'power of constitution' i.e. how the particular social world is 'made'. The primary tool that is used is definitional. Thus labels, mainly dichotomies, are set up which organise our perception of the social world: for example,

masculine/feminine, high/low, strong/weak and so on. An important aspect is that one side of these dualisms is constructed as dominant over the other. The power that produces a particular world view is therefore the power to preserve or change the definition categories, quite simply, the words used to describe the social world and the people in it.

> To change the world, one has to change the ways of world making, that is, the vision of the world and the practical operations by which groups are produced and reproduced.
> (Bourdieu 1982, 137).

On a more simplistic level, this is what Horne, (1984) is talking about in what he calls the 'Great Museum' when he suggests that dominant groups produce dominant versions of reality to uphold a certain social order. When we move through the landscape then, we move through symbols which explain the world in ways that justify the authority of those in power. There are also "conflicting languages of legitimacy" such as religion, nationalism, growth and so on, although I would like to add that these are not necessarily exclusive and a number of even seemingly incongruous combinations can be used. These can turn the past to new purposes which legitimise a certain social order.

> The present is used to explain the relics of the past, and then the meanings given to the past are used to justify aspects of the present, or to justify beliefs about how things should change.
> (Horne 1984, 29).

These can combine to form a narrative of the past. Objects in a museum are transformed into 'monuments' commemorating certain events or people in history.

Two studies which attempt to explore the social relations of power and their expression in the landscape are Voekel (1992) and Davis (1990). Voekel looked

at the changing space of Mexico City under the Bourbon monarchy in the Eighteenth Century. She argued that the city space could be seen as a site of power and resistance whereby the ruling classes attempted to impose a certain vision of the world upon the popular classes and "inculcate them in the new virtues of hard work, sobriety and proper public propriety" (p183). Various spatial devices were used in order to try and reform the populace. These included wholesale changes in the local taverns, such as ordinances that they be well lit and the removal of side walls and heavy window curtains to aid the surveillance of behaviour. Also reformed was the *Plaza Major*, the site of the market place, a maze of stalls and shops where it was easy to lose pursuers and hence this was moved to the *Volador Plaza* which was more easily controlled.

The space of the *Plaza Major* was changed to include a statue of the Bourbon monarch Charles IV as a symbol of elite occupation (ibid.). Behaviour was regulated by a number of laws which required the poor to sweep their steps at certain times of the day and the licensing of street 'spectacles' meant the gradual disappearance of public popular culture. Also reformed were the bodily functions which were redefined as a private matter. This was a major symbol of the attempt of the ruling classes to distance themselves from the lower classes. Separate toilets were built for men and women and public urination was punishable by public gaze in the stocks. However, as Voekel identifies, the poor were by no means quiescent receptors of this new way of thinking, and a number of guards were required to stop many of the poor urinating on the viceregal palace, a symbolic snub to Bourbon authority.

In the same way, Davis in 1990 has argued that the social relations of Los Angeles' society can be seen to be represented in the urban fabric of the redeveloped city. The "social warfare" that has taken over from the liberal vision of social control tempered by reform is reflected in spatial warfare where the spatial 'markers' give messages that include and exclude various sections of society. Two notable examples are the security measures that have been taken

board by the richest in Los Angles such as gated neighbourhoods and increased surveillance and the corresponding "sadistic street environment" of 'bum-proof' benches and periodic 'sweeping of the streets' of the homeless which have pushed the city's poor out of sight.

These last two studies give excellent examples of how the landscape can be read to reveal the social relations of power within them, reconstructing the histories of the symbolic landscape and examining the ways in which power in various forms constantly makes and remakes it. Similarly, a Holocaust memorial site and its surrounding landscape can be examined to show the ways in which it is a product of a particular set of power relations and contestations between memory and identity.

Conclusions.

This chapter has sketched a number of theoretical positions that have been used to understand issues of Holocaust memorialisation in late Twentieth Century Britain. It has outlined a theoretical basis for examining the complex relationship between the representation of the Holocaust at a particular mnemonic site and its location. Subsequent chapters will show how this relationship is crucial, not just in the making of the meaning that various memorials will have, but also in exploring the pedagogic aspects of the landscape of the Holocaust in disrupting dominant narratives of British war memory.

3

Holocaust Memorial Campaigns in Britain 1960-79

The histories of the various campaigns for Holocaust memorials in Britain, some successful, some not, reveal a complex set of relationships on the one hand between the Anglo-Jewish community and wider British society, and on the other between official and popular discourses of the Second World War and the suppressed history of Britain's relationship with the Holocaust. This chapter examines a number of different initiatives that took place, almost exclusively in London, that give an indication of the status of the Holocaust in the collected memory of Britain in the 1960s and 1970s.

The Association of Nazi Concentration Camp Survivors' Plaque.

As was mentioned in chapter one, a series of events both in Britain and abroad in the late 1950s and early 1960s raised the profile of the Holocaust. Primary among these was the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem in 1961 which was important, not so much in the amount of information that it revealed, but in the way that it pushed the Holocaust into the public consciousness for the first time since the end of the Second World War. This was true in the USA, but to a lesser extent in the UK, where the Holocaust and Holocaust survivors continued to be marginalised (Kushner 1994, 248-250).

A number of memorial initiatives did occur in the UK during this time which reflect this marginal status in the debates surrounding them. The first memorial in monument form to the Holocaust in Britain was unveiled in 1965 by the Association of Nazi Concentration Camp Survivors (ANCCS). Formed in 1960, this organisation was primarily concerned with ensuring the perpetuation of memory of the Holocaust but its formation was also grounded in the politics of the day, with the growing incidence of neo-Nazi activity. The organisation managed to raise less than £20 for a small plaque which was unveiled after a ceremony at St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London. The Association felt that

> [t]he plaque may not be very grand or on the same scale as similar memorials on the Continent, but we have at least the satisfaction to know that this particular plaque, which we initiated and produced, is the first and only one to the memory of the Camp Victims in this country. [1]

The events that led to this dedication reference the continued marginality of the Holocaust and the survivor community in Britain. In 1965, the ANCCS approached the Council of Christians and Jews (CCJ) proposing a joint service to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the liberation of the camps, beginning with the laying of wreaths at the Cenotaph and concluding with a service to be held in Trafalgar Square. Bill Simpson, the executive director of the CCJ contrasted Christian Aid week (during which the service would be held) which was seen as "positive and creative" with the liberation commemoration which he said was "harking back to earlier bitterness, the reopening of old wounds, and an occasion to be avoided rather than shared" (Kushner 1994, 252-3).

The contestation over the most appropriate way to deal with the memory of the Holocaust between the ANCCS and the CCJ was an almost dry run of the spectacle that was to happen fourteen years later with the proposal by the Board of Deputies to dedicate a memorial in Whitehall to the victims of the Holocaust. It was the combination of a fear that any memorial dedicated to the Holocaust would give rise to clashes between Fascists and anti-Fascists and the ideological construction of the Cenotaph as an exclusive site of memory of British war dead that caused the CCJ to oppose the service, as it would eventually oppose the Board of Deputies' memorial in 1981. Both Jewish and non-Jewish members of the CCJ in 1965 felt that

> the Cenotaph is a national memorial to those *who gave their lives* for the freedom and security of the country...[they opposed] the prospect of

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[1] ANCCS newsletter, June 1964, quoted in Kushner 1994, 252.

> associating with the Cenotaph those who *came through* the war alive, whether out of Nazi camps, battle fields and naval operations.
> (Kushner 1994, 253. Emphasis added by Kushner).

Therefore both campaigns followed a similar pattern. In the memory of Britain at war, *who* was remembered was tightly defined as a white Christian male (see Kushner nd, for a discussion of the exclusive nature of the original Remembrance Day March past the Cenotaph). An attempt to include the Holocaust within the framework of national war memory was therefore defeated by the CCJ's inability to see the Holocaust in terms other than through an exclusivist and Christian framework. Again, like the 1979-83 campaign, the memorial service in 1965 ended up in private space: the church of St-Martin-in-the-Field. Indicative of the relationship between Britain and the Holocaust and also between memorials and the rituals that continually reinvest them with memory and meaning, even after an extensive search in and around St. Martin-in-the-Field, I can not find the ANCCS plaque. The Church Warden and others who work in the church have no idea that such a plaque exists or existed.

The Board of Deputies and the Memorial Committee.

A further campaign for a Holocaust memorial in the 1960s is also relevant to the discussion of the Hyde Park Memorial in the next chapter because of the discursive framework in which it was set. In addition, Sir (later Lord) Barnett Janner who was heavily involved with the memorial campaign was the father of Greville Janner (now Lord Janner) who was the main driving force behind the Hyde Park monument. The campaign is a precursor to the Hyde Park Memorial project in the way that it highlights the contentious nature of Holocaust memory within Anglo-Jewry as to who to remember and the most appropriate way to remember them.

An organisation called the Memorial Committee was formed in 1960 by "a few Jews who felt strongly that the memory of the six million, including the heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto" should be commemorated. Interestingly in the context of this thesis, the one-time chair of the committee was Reginald Freeson, a Labour Member of Parliament from 1964 to 1987, who, as will be shown below, was a crucial actor within the network of Holocaust memorialisation in the UK during this period. Although heavily dominated by Jewish Socialists, the Memorial Committee itself was, however, not a solely Jewish affair. In addition to Barnett Janner, the sponsors of the project were: J.B. Priestly, Lord Russell of Liverpool and the Bishop of Southwark, Dr. Mervyn Stockwood. One of the aims of the committee printed on their note paper was

> to establish a permanent memorial to the heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising; the 6 million Jewish and millions of other victims of Nazism.

The Committee did make progress in pushing for Holocaust memorialisation, staging an exhibition on the uprising in 1961 [2] and organising a "pilgrimage" to Poland during the twentieth anniversary commemorations of the WGU in 1963 in which the Board of Deputies took an official role. The Memorial Committee entered into communication with the Board's Foreign Affairs Department on the subject of a permanent memorial in the UK to the victims of Nazism. The committee submitted a "concrete proposal" for establishing a memorial in November, 1963. However, the Board had "a number of serious reservations" about the proposal and set up a consultation process with over forty lay and religious organisations. The response was very poor. Only six organisations

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[2] The contentious nature of the relationship between the Holocaust and the British war experience was revealed in another exhibition, also in 1961 in Coventry Cathedral. The cathedral, which was all but destroyed during heavy bombing during the Second World War, and was viewed by the church authorities as an international symbol of reconciliation and forgiveness. The exhibition's organiser, however, wanted the Holocaust to be remembered as a pedagogic tool in order that such occurrences may be prevented in the future. The Cathedral opposed the exhibition on the grounds that it focused exclusively on the camps and that it was time to 'move on'. "On one level, commitment to liberal universalism and Christian forgiveness militated against remembering the fate of the Jews. On another, English parochialism insisted on the continued memory of the British war effort and the sacrifices made". (Kushner 1994, 251)

replied, two of which, the Polish Jewish Ex-Servicemen's Association and the Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues, were no more than general pronouncements of support for a memorial of some kind.

Apart from the Memorial Committee's proposal, the Reform Synagogue and the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, both suggested educational scholarships and a Youth centre with the Reform Synagogue going further and suggesting that it should be "not for Jews alone, but to help promote mutual understanding between people of different faiths".[3] The Sheffield Representative Council argued against a memorial in London suggesting that it "would be limited in its impact and of no significance or benefit to provincial communities". They proposed a Day of Remembrance "with an appropriate emblem to be worn [which] would be of universal significance and a permanent reminder to, and basis for teaching future generations" thus tying the memory of the Holocaust into the accepted ritual of British war memory: the wearing of poppies on Remembrance Sunday.

The Memorial Committee's modified proposal was by far the most comprehensive and was also fully costed, a primary concern for the Board of Deputies which considered itself "in no position to undertake any fund-raising". The Memorial Committee's ambitious proposal consisted of a youth centre, a cultural centre, administrative offices, flexible exhibition space, a Hall of Remembrance and permanent plaques to commemorate the killing centres. It was also suggested that the building could also house the Wiener Library, one of the foremost institutions in the UK for Holocaust research. The cost would be £250,000, out of which £210,000 would be to fund the initial building whilst the rest would be invested in order to provide an annual income for administration. Fund raising for the project would not be confined to within the Jewish Community. As well as more conventional methods, the committee

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[3] Report of the Consultative process for a permanent memorial to the Jewish Victims of the Nazis. 19/9/66. YV(UK) Archives.

suggested more innovative schemes of fund raising such as selling individual plaques within the Hall of Remembrance or letting individuals buy 'bricks'.

However, as with the original consultative process the response to the schemes was "disappointing" and there was "practically no promise of financial or material support". The discussion of the proposals held at the Board of Deputies in October 1966 centred mainly on the financial problems that a scheme of this kind was likely to face. For the representative of the Sephardi Federation, the scheme would require a large expenditure and that "support - financial or otherwise- for a project of such dimensions was not sufficiently wide for the Board to be associated with it". He proposed instead a day of remembrance, a special programme on the BBC, and that "synagogues should be invited to have a suitably-worded plaque affixed with a constant light".[4] An appeal was launched at the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising Commemoration at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane in 1969 to raise money for the memorial. It was to take the form of a commemorative hall and library to be included within the B'nai B'rith Hillel House being built in London. Barnett Janner remarked that it

> would provide a centre not only for Jewish students but for Jewish youth generally to study the events which the outside world was so eager to forget.[5]

Unfortunately I can find no references in the archives to the fate of this campaign. Certainly, the memorial centre was never built, and it is perhaps reasonable to assume, given the outcome of the other Holocaust memorial campaigns of this period, that the main reason for the campaign's failure was an inability to raise the necessary capital.

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[4] Ibid.
[5] JC 18/4/69 £50,000 memorial to ghetto heroes.

However a memorial in part to the victims of the Holocaust *was* dedicated in London at that time. It is called the "Prisoners of War and Concentration Camp Victims' memorial" and is important within the context of Holocaust memorialisation in this country for a number of reasons. As well as signifying the climate of Holocaust memory in late 1960s Britain, the Dollis Hill Memorial, also prefaces the main case study of this thesis which comprises a discussion of the campaigns for, and subsequent contestation over, the Hyde Park Holocaust Memorial Garden. It is important to remember that at the time the campaign for the then Whitehall memorial was launched, the Dollis Hill memorial already been situated in London for almost ten years. This section will examine the 'Prisoners' Memorial' in Dollis Hill, Brent (see fig. 2) and argue that a number of similar themes were present in terms of the spatial location of the memorial that reoccur within the Whitehall/Hyde Park campaign. However, because of the personal histories of the two people involved, the Dollis Hill memorial differs significantly from that in Hyde Park in the narrative of the Holocaust that it represents.

Fred Kormis and the Dollis Hill Memorial.

The narrative that surrounds the casting of the memorial and its eventual setting in Gladstone Park, Dollis Hill, is long and complex. As has already been noted, the idea for the memorial owes much to the personal history of the sculptor as both prisoner of war in a Siberian Prisoner of War (POW) camp and as a Jew who fled Nazi Germany in 1933. In order to understand the memorial, it is therefore necessary to understand the experiences of the sculptor, Fred Kormis.

Fred Kormis was born in 1897 in Frankfurt-am-Main in Germany. At the age of 14 he was sent as an apprentice to a decorative sculpture and moulding workshop, whilst attending the Frankfurt Polytechnic in the evening as an art

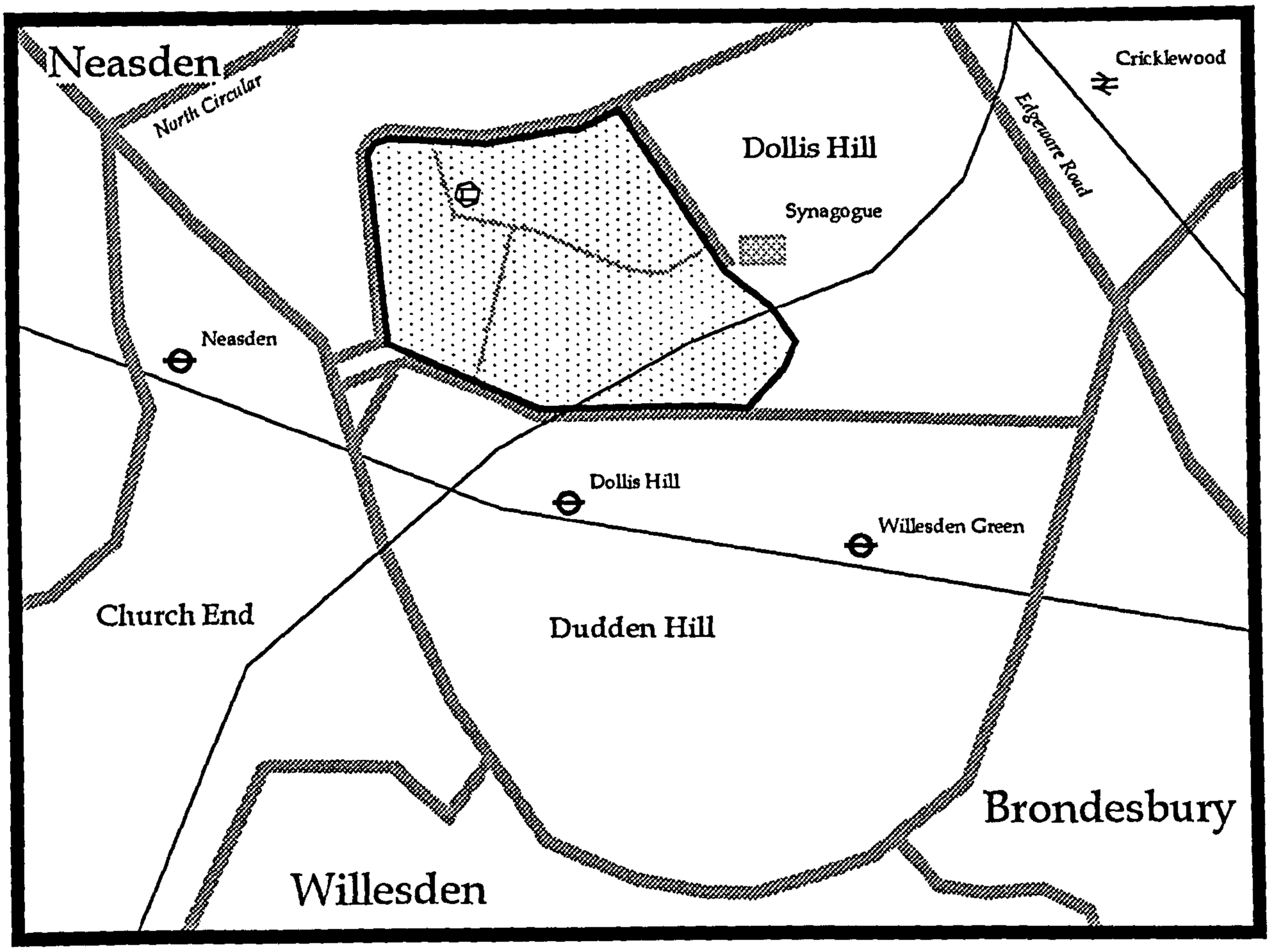

Fig. 2: Sketch Map to Show Location of P.O.W. and Concentration Camp Victims' Monument, Dollis Hill, north London.

student. A promising career was interrupted by the outbreak of World War One. As he had an Austrian Father, he was conscripted into the Austrian Army, serving on the Eastern Front. After being wounded in 1915 he was captured by the Russians and spent five years in a Siberian POW camp where he modelled portraits, wood carvings and gravestones. In 1920 he escaped and returned to Frankfurt where he resumed his artistic career presenting a number of exhibitions.

His style was expressionist though infused with his own individual feelings. Critics remarked on the strength and inner feeling and life. His work at this time with titles such as 'Fear', Despair' and 'The Torturer' reflect their origin in the POW camp. Much of his work at this time was figurative, often covered in a bandage like costume. This tends to emphasise the shape of the body by restricting it, reminding the viewer of the body as a vessel for the mind. [6] In 1931 he was commissioned to construct a Prisoner of War Memorial in the town of Tannenburg. With the rise to power of the Nazi Party in Germany in 1933, Kormis left with his wife for the Netherlands where he held one-man-exhibitions in Amsterdam and The Hague before emigrating to London in 1934.

Unlike a large number of recent refugees from Germany, he avoided being interned in 1940 and worked in a Midlands pottery. All work that was left in Germany was destroyed by the bombing as was much of that in his London studio. His profile as a leading artist was recognised when he was commissioned to make medallions of prominent Anglo-Jews including Leo Baeck and Cecil Roth as well as members of the war cabinet, including Churchill. [7]

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[6] Horace QA, QB, QC, QD. F. Kormis Interview Oral History, IWM

[7] An interesting aside is that another of these medallions was that of King Edward VIII and it has been suggested that if it had not been for the abdication in 1936 then Kormis' design would have been used by the Royal Mint as the image of the monarch on coinage. Other public pieces include 'Shield Bearer' at the Corn Exchange in Stratford-upon-Avon, and 'The Marchers' relief, donated to King's College, in the Strand, London. From the catalogue: Fritz Kormis - Sculpture, Reliefs and Drawings. An Exhibition organised by the Manor House Group at the Sternberg Centre for Judaism. October/November, 1987.

The numbing pictures taken by the Allies at the liberation of the Concentration Camps caused a resurgence of Kormis' own memories and stories of life in the POW camps. [8] He continued to be a respected sculptor and a leading portrait medallist throughout his life. Even in his 90th year he was commissioned by the British Museum to sculpt a medallion of Laurence Olivier and by the National Maritime Museum for one of the Duke of Edinburgh. He died in 1986 at the age of 91.

The realisation of the Dollis Hill monument came about through contact with Reginald Freeson, as we have seen, a leading actor in Holocaust memorialisation. Freeson, a committed anti-Fascist and one-time editor of 'Searchlight', the anti-fascist monthly magazine, was the grandson of Jewish refugees from Tsarist Russia. He came to know Fred Kormis when Freeson was the mayor of Willesden in 1963. In that year Kormis was commissioned to undertake a work of art for the local borough, called 'Angels' Wings'. They became personal friends, sharing a similar interest in the Holocaust.

The first four maquettes of what was to become the Prisoner of War and Concentration Camp victims memorial at Dollis Hill were already completed at this time. In 1966 Kormis was left a legacy by his sister with the express purpose of creating a piece of work that, due to financial reasons, he had never been able to begin or complete. He chose to put the money towards a full scale version of the maquettes. By this time, Freeson had been elected as a Labour MP for Willesden East and was also chair of the Memorial Committee and so wrote to the then Minister at the Department of Public Buildings and Works,

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[8] On the 17 May, 1945 a newspaper detailed Kormis' ideas for a memorial design that could serve as a mnemonic site for all those who died "for the common cause-soldiers, civilians, British and Allied." The main problem in designing a memorial at this time for Kormis was the combination on one material form of "bereavement and hope." Fred's design hoped to reconcile this in "a semi-circle of bridal-white stone with a think stolid (sic) cross towering in the background above an elongated bronze figure of a lanky, adolescent boy whom he calls 'The Young Prophet.' Spaced around the semi-circle and gazing at the cross and the central figure are eight stone statues representing three generations; and old man and woman bowed, almost recumbent; a young soldier and his wife, kneeling in an attitude expressing hopeful expectation;

Reg Prentice. In accordance with Kormis' wishes, they discussed a central London site for the memorial. The sites suggested for the memorial near Westminster Abbey or the Embankment are uncannily similar to the Board of Deputies' memorial ten years later. This proved impossible and Freeson considers his lack of experience as an MP and at lobbying ministers were factors in this rejection. [9]

Freeson then used personal connections as a former Mayor of Brent to gain approval for a site in the borough. Also of assistance in this was the fact that the Chief Architect of the Borough was a POW in the Second World War. The first choice was near the only building of architectural merit in the borough, the old Parish Church. [10] This would have served the needs of the artist in the symbolic nature of the setting. Photographs exist of a mock-up of the site with a cross on the back wall and the inclusion of Christian imagery within the memorial could suggest to the observer a number of different messages. It could be that the inclusion of the cross indicates either the centrality of Christian antisemitism/anti-Judaism to the Holocaust or indeed that the memorial has received the official sanction of the Church. It could also suggest that the sculptor was trying to fit the Holocaust and the experience of being a POW into the dominant religious culture of Britain in the 1960s and in that way make the memorial accessible to a large number of people.

Due to what Freeson describes as "complications" the idea of having the memorial in the grounds of a church was not pursued. They then went for a walk around many of the parks in the borough and decided that the setting of Gladstone Park would be appropriate. At that time a local outdoor swimming pool was located in this area and was widely used by local residents. The monument is also set at the foot of a small hill which dominates the

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two triumphant boy and girl groups." The memorial itself was never built but gives an indication as to Kormis' artistic expression as to how loss should be memorialised

[9] Freeson, personal communication, 26/2/96.

[10] Ibid.

surroundings and the interaction between site and figures thus gives the site an enclosed, oppressive setting to the monument.

The cast was produced in fibre-glass rather than in bronze as the artist would have wished due to a lack of funds and the project itself was completed 'in-house' by the council so was cheaper than if it had been commissioned. The memorial's dedication was delayed for some time after the Conservatives gained control of the council from Labour and undertook what Freeson describes as a period of "bully-boy" politics. Eventually a plaque to mark the formal handing over of the statues to the borough was unveiled by the Mayor of Brent on Sunday 11th May 1969, a very symbolic weekend as it was the "anniversary weekend to the end of the war against Nazism in Europe". [11] So the park "came to have something unique to Britain: a sculptured memorial to prisoners-of-war and victims of concentration camps".

The monument itself comprises of five sculptures which attempt to give material form to the suffering of those who died in captivity. The life-size, semi-abstract figures take us on a symbolic journey from left to right (see plates 1, 2, 3) through the mental state of a prisoner in a Concentration Camp or POW camp. The first four of these figures which Kormis described as "a four chapter novel, each chapter describing a successive state of mind of internment" [12] are seated in a line against a rising white wall that frames and seems to engulf the progressively lower statues. The first symbolises 'stupor after capture', the second 'longing for freedom' whilst the third and fourth represent respectively the 'fight against gloom' and 'hope lost'.

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11 See Freeson to the JC May 9th, 1969.

12 Description of the memorial by Fred Kormis, Interview Oral History, IWM, Op. Cit.

Plate 1: The Dollis Hill Monument.

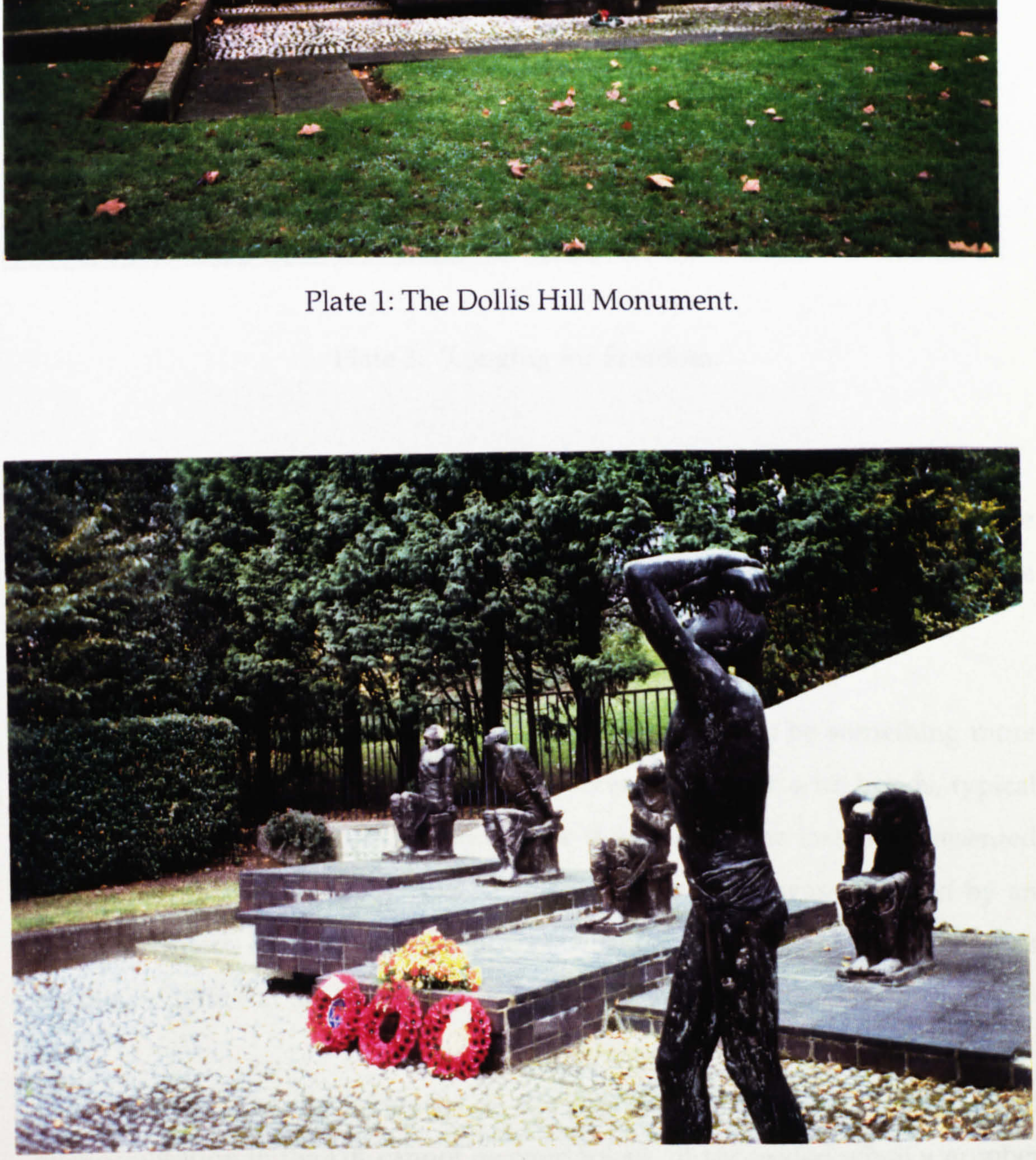

Plate 2: The Dollis Hill Monument.

Plate 3: 'Longing for Freedom.

The last statue, and the one that took the longest to design is named 'hope again' (see plate 4). This is a younger, upright figure that is meant to conclude the memorial on an optimistic note, representing the younger generation.

Whilst retaining human form, the statues are formalised to be something more than five people and are cut across to an increasing degree with bonds, typical of Kormis' work, that constrict and incise the forms. The last is represented shrugging off those bonds. The setting for the memorial was designed by an Israeli architect, N. Lachman who was working in the Borough of Brent's Architects' Office at the time of the dedication in 1969. [13]

The importance of the memorial as the first permanent major public act of memorialisation in the UK cannot be overlooked. It succeeded when a number

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[13] See JC 16/5/69.

of other initiatives had failed and this is in part due to a number of factors including the political capital of Freeson and the financial capital of Kormis. Also important to recognise is the bounded constitution of the campaign. As the various campaigns examined have shown, the ability to build and maintain a consensus around the problematic issue of British Holocaust memory is very difficult. A consensus was more easily constructed in the case of the Dollis Hill memorial as there were only two major actors involved. This was aided by the personal histories of Freeson and Kormis. As well as being Jewish, Freeson had also served in the British Army from 1944-47. This suggested a similar scope of memory within the monument. The money bequeathed to Kormis allowed the pair to not have to raise funds from other sources which, as well as prolonging the campaign, would have opened it up to a variety of competing discourses within Holocaust and British war memory. Freeson's position with regards to the political landscape of Brent meant he was able to wield sufficient influence to accomplish the project.

Plate 4: 'Hope Again'.

An Inclusive Monument?

The personal narratives evident within the monument allow an inclusive memorial space, a position symbolised by the annual service in September each year. The initiative for an annual service came from Kormis himself, who told Freeson that he felt some kind of ritual would be appropriate. This was organised by Freeson who asked the Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen (AJEX) if some form of ecumenical commemoration could be held. Also involved are the British Legion, a minister from the Church of England and a Jewish Rabbi. The service is held in September each year and continues to the present time. The local synagogue at Dollis Hill was used for the reception after the service each year until 1995 when the synagogue was sold due to falling numbers. [14]

Both the memorial itself and the rituals that surround it define the memorial as more inclusive than the later Hyde Park Memorial Garden. The experiences of the two men most closely involved with the Dollis Hill Memorial, Kormis and Freeson, prompted them to give a wide definition of the event or series of events to be remembered. The dates on the memorial plaque reference this. The time scale of the events to be remembered are from 1914 to 1945 and Freeson says that they could have extended them to include for example, the Korean War. The memorial is one that encompasses human suffering in the camps and on the battlefields. Moreover, unlike the Hyde Park Memorial which by ritual definition is a *Jewish* memorial to the *Jewish* Holocaust, the Dollis Hill memorial is given an inclusive meaning by the ecumenical service in September. For a further examination of the rituals that surround Holocaust memorials and how these structure, and are structured by the memory of the mnemonic site see chapter four.

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14 JC 28/4/95, 'Shofar sounds a fond farewell. See also Kushner 1992 (eds) about the Dollis Hill Synagogue of being a fine example of modern architectural design.

However, like all other such mnemonic sites, the Dollis Hill memorial is a contested terrain where different ideologies and different conceptions of history are played out. There is evidence to suggest that the memorial is seen by the far Right as a Jewish memorial to the victims of the Holocaust. In 1991 the memorial was badly damaged and daubed with paint that spelt out the memorial as a *perceived* Jewish space by inscribing it with swastikas and slogans such as 'Jew scum'. The formulation of the memorial as an inclusive space of memory allowed a response by a coalition of anti-Fascists to the attack. A counter ritual was organised to reclaim the site for anti-Fascist, rather than Jewish, memory. The contrast between the broad coalition who gathered to protest at this desecration was in marked contrast to the response when the Board of Deputies' own memorial, the Hyde Park Holocaust Memorial Garden, was daubed with paint. The reaction on the part of the Board was to make good the damage but to not publicise it in any way. This reaction will be explored more fully in the next chapter.

This representation of the Holocaust within the monument also plays a part in its situation within the wider landscape of British Holocaust memory. The Dollis Hill monument is marginalised within the framework of Holocaust memorialisation by the majority of the Jewish community in the UK. Greville Janner, the President of the Board of Deputies at the time of the Whitehall/Hyde Park project in 1979, when quizzed about the Dollis Hill monument confused the monument with one in a Jewish cemetery. When I pointed out that it was in Gladstone Park, North London, he maintained that he had never heard of it, and further suggested that it was not a national monument [15]. There are repeated references in both the YVC archives and pronouncements by Janner and the Board of Deputies' that the Whitehall monument would rectify "the absence of a *suitable* Memorial in London to the victims of the Nazi Holocaust" (my emphasis). Again, Arnold Morris, the Chair of the Memorial Committee regretted that "London has so long been the only

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[15] Greville Janner, personal communication, 23/11/95.

European Capital without a *proper and dignified* memorial to victims of the Holocaust and to the destruction of so much of our Jewish people" (my emphasis). [16]

The possibility that leading members of the Board of Deputies could *not* have known about the Dollis Hill monument seems minimal, given the publicity around its unveiling and the fact that there was, as already stated, an annual service in Gladstone Park run by AJEX. The qualification of these statements by Morris and others therefore leads to the conclusion that the Dollis Hill monument was not considered "suitable", and not "proper or dignified" which begs the question as to why this was so.

I believe that the answer lies within the inclusive nature of the memorial. The uniqueness of the Jewish experience during the Holocaust has been fiercely guarded by the majority of Anglo-Jews. As will be shown in the next two chapters, this can be seen most clearly in the definition of the memorial garden in Hyde Park. The annual Yom Ha'shoah service at the memorial garden in Hyde Park strongly defines the monument as remembering the Jewish victims of the Holocaust alone, despite the absence of an actual number of victims within the inscription on the monument itself. Thus the specificity of the Jewish experience is preserved. The combination of the two sets of victims that are represented in the Dollis Hill monument - those of the Concentration Camps and those of Prisoners of War camps - blurs the distinctiveness of the Jewish experience of the Holocaust by equating the two: concentration camp victim and Prisoner of War. Hence the monument's marginalisation within the symbolic landscape: it does not fit in with the dominant theme of Anglo-Jewish Holocaust memorialisation.

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16 Press Release by Board of Deputies 'Holocaust Memorial Garden Appeal'. Undated, but I believe it to be March 1983. Arnold Morris quote comes from the 'Message from the Chairman (sic)' in the brochure to mark the unveiling of the memorial garden, 27th June, 1983.

Conclusions.

The memorialisation of the Holocaust in the UK in the 1960s and 1970s was structured by, and in turn reinforced, the discursive framework of exclusion which marginalised both the Holocaust and the survivor community from the shared narratives of Britain at war. The differences in the outcomes of the campaigns can be attributed not only to this discursive framework but also to the amount of symbolic capital that the various groups were able to use in order to realise their memorial projects. The memorial campaign led by Barnet Janner and the Board of Deputies ultimately failed because of the complexities of attempting to negotiate between a large number of groups, all with different conceptions of what an appropriate memorial should, some indeed denying the need for a memorial at all. The campaign by Kormis and Freeson for the Prisoners' Memorial was on a smaller scale, but more importantly, the two men had similar ideas about Holocaust memorialisation and between them had sufficient political and economic capital to create the monument in Dollis Hill. It was also unique in the way that, because of the experiences of Kormis and Freeson, it combined Holocaust narratives with those of other victims of war.

The liberal assimilationism, through which an articulation of Holocaust memory and Anglo-Jewish identity was structured, made any attempt at Holocaust memorialisation during this period problematic. Within the Anglo-Jewish community the idea that the Holocaust needed to be memorialised in physical form had not become hegemonic. This and the perceived dichotomy between Christian forgiveness and Jewish revenge were to continue into the 1980s and the campaign for a Holocaust monument, firstly in Whitehall and then Hyde Park, by the Board of Deputies.

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From Whitehall to Hyde Park-the symbolic journey of Anglo-Jewish Holocaust Memory

In Britain we are encouraged to keep our heads down and hope that it will all blow over. Our major communal institutions didn't reach out to non-Jews for support. We didn't even let them know how we feel when our graves are desecrated. We just keep shtum.
(Cooper and Morrison 1991, 100).

Perhaps we should examine the achievements of the Board of Deputies in [the field of Holocaust memorialisation] during the past 50 years since the last war, during which there have been some 600 meetings. I recall attending a meeting of the Board of Deputies some 17 years ago at which there were plans and a model of a proposed Holocaust Museum on the table. Nothing came of it although admittedly a stone was eventually erected in the Memorial Garden of Hyde Park. The efforts of the Board of Deputies to initiate a Holocaust Centre in Great Britain have been pathetic and it has now been left to a non-Jewish family [the Smiths at Beth Shalom] to build our first memorial centre....Do [the Board of Deputies] really consider that a stone in Hyde Park is enough education and sufficient inspiration for the next generation?
Kitty Hart-Moxon. [1]

"Di Kalleh is zu shoin...". "The Bride was too pretty...". [2]

The themes of the exclusivity of British war memory and Jewish particularity with respect to Holocaust memory resurfaced a number of years later in another campaign for a Holocaust memorial this time situated in Whitehall, London. Primarily organised by the Board of Deputies of British Jews, the campaign resulted not only in acrimony and bitterness between those involved but in a Holocaust memorial that references these disputes and the relationship between Anglo-Jewry, the British state and Holocaust memory.

The Hyde Park Holocaust Memorial Garden has its roots in a particular historical context when a variety of personalities and political, economic and cultural circumstances came together to give impetus to the idea of a memorial on British soil to the victims of the Holocaust. What must not be ignored is the

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[1] Hart-Moxon to the JC 19/9/95 after the opening of Beth Shalom Holocaust Memorial Centre in Laxton.
[2] Rabbi Hugo Gryn, personal communication (5/2/96). The Yiddish saying basically means that something is too good to be true.

importance of crucial 'actors' within the network of Holocaust memorialisation able to acquire enough political and cultural capital to realise a set of objectives that they had. Greville Janner was elected president of the Board of Deputies on 1st July 1979. Two days later at a meeting of the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture in Geneva, the prominent Holocaust historian Yehuda Bauer remarked that:

> In Britain, nothing at all has been done, and there exists it appears, an opposition on the part of the older generation in the Jewish community to introducing educational programmes specifically on the Holocaust. [3]

"[C]oncern and disappointment" were expressed at the YVC [4] and it was suggested at the next meeting on the 24th July, that the chair, Frank Green, should draft a letter of reply stating their "strong objection" to Bauer's remarks. In fact, Janner himself drafted the reply. In this letter, Janner professed himself "amazed" at the remarks, suggesting that the achievements of the YVC had been "outstanding" during its short existence. He then proceeded to list the achievement of the committee, including collection of testimony from survivors and Gilbert's small schoolbook 'The Holocaust' and also,

> the establishment of a Holocaust memorial at the leading Jewish cemetery and plans for similar memorials, which may include in the near future, a National Holocaust Memorial in the centre of London....Of course, while we are pleased with what we have done, we are not, and

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[3] In YV(UK) Committee minutes, 6/7/79 also quoted in Kushner, 1993.

[4] The YVC was set up at the instigation of the Yad Vashem Institute in Jerusalem in 1977. The committee's aims were extensive, looking to promote commemoration, education, research, collecting testimony, work to stimulate discussion in universities and to participate in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising commemorations organised by the Board of Deputies Resume of statement from the chair of the committee, Mr. Harry Lewis, to the Board of Deputies, 19/3/78. YV(UK) Archives.

> never shall be, completely satisfied. We shall always strive to do more and better. [5]

Even before that meeting, steps were being taken by Greville Janner to rectify the absence of at least a physical memorial. He had written to Michael Heseltine, then Secretary of State for the Environment, on the 16th July asking for a site in the Jewel House Gardens opposite the Victoria Tower of the House of Lords (see plate 5).

Plate 5: Jewel House Gardens and Victoria Tower with Henry Moore sculpture.

An interesting scene can be imagined when Janner and Heseltine first met about the project. Heseltine saw the memorial as a 'problem' within the context of the

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[5] See Janner to Bauer, 5/9/79. YV(UK) Archives. Janner also looked forward to "an equally public...retraction". This however, was not forthcoming. Bauer, personal communication, 9/2/97.

discursive framework of Anglo-Jewish identity and their relationship with the State: i.e. any memorial seen as a 'Jewish' memorial would be desecrated because it was a *Jewish* memorial.

Despite agreeing to Janner's proposition, Heseltine's response was situated with the discursive framework of the relationship between the British State and Anglo Jewry. Rather than seeing this desecration in terms of the desecrators being at fault in terms of their intolerance of difference, Heseltine saw Anglo-Jewry's insistence on remembering as the problem. Janner recalls that Heseltine asked him whether he knew that this project would be a "provocation" and asked the strategy that the Board of Deputies would take if the memorial was damaged in any way. Janner then followed the historical strategy of Anglo-Jewry, colluding with the assimilation asked by the State in return for acceptance. Janner's reply was that he knew that it was a provocative gesture and that if it were attacked, the Board of Deputies would follow the same strategy as ever when dealing with antisemitism: ignore it. [6]

However, the site was rejected by Heseltine, for the reason that it was "one of the few remaining sites close to the Palace of Westminster which might provide a location for a Parliamentary or State memorial in the future". [7] Two further sites were then suggested by Heseltine in that letter:

> Site A is very near the Cenotaph. It is the area at present occupied by the single-story link block to the south of Richmond Terrace. The close

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[6] Janner, personal communication, 23/11/95. Contrary to this statement, Janner himself is an exception to this rule of 'keeping one's head down' as a Jew. He has been very vocal on Jewish issues both during and since his time in Parliament, most notably through his role as chair of the Holocaust Education Trust on issues such as the repayment of gold stored in Swiss, American and British banks to Holocaust survivors (see JC throughout May and June 1997).

[7] See letter from Heseltine to Janner 20/9/79 YVC Archives. The site is occupied by a sculpture by Henry Moore in bronze called 'knife edge' and is said to represent the cut water of a ship. "The clean cut polished forms make a contrast with the ornate surface of the facing building [the House of Lords]" (Strachen, 1984). The exact timing of the placement of the sculpture in the Jewel House Garden is unknown, although it was completed in 1965 and may well have been placed before the discussions surrounding the Holocaust Memorial.

proximity of the Cenotaph would, of course call for *very simple, restrained treatment.*

Site B is in the ownership of the Greater London Council. It is on the river frontage of Lambeth Palace towards Victoria Gardens and the Palace of Westminster. The *openness of the site should guard against possible defacement.* (Emphasis added)

In my opinion a more appropriate place for a British Holocaust memorial that the Jewel House Gardens would be hard to find. It would have been a provocative gesture, disrupting the imperial landscape of state and nation. The Holocaust monument would have made an uneasy backdrop for the television interviews of politicians that are commonly carried out in this area at the present time. The thought of a minister of state talking about (say) the 1996 Immigration Act is rather an interesting one to contemplate with a Holocaust monument, even a restrained and simple one, looming large in the background.

These two sites and the way in which Heseltine defines the appropriate memorial for each respectively, summarises clearly the attitude of the State towards any memorialisation of the Holocaust in the UK. A call for a "very simple restrained treatment" near the Cenotaph which would not intrude upon this sacred national space combined with the defining of any confrontation with Holocaust memory as a problem is echoed in later private and press communication from the Jewish Establishment and, as will be shown below, from Janner especially. This discursive mimicry can be viewed on two levels. It may be an indication that Janner and the rest of those involved with planning the memorial were 'playing the game' in so far as they were adopting the dominant discourse in order to get the memorial that they wanted, i.e. Janner agreed with Heseltine's wish for a "simple" and "restrained" monument in order to obtain, at the cost of compromise, a mnemonic site dedicated to the Holocaust. The other, related explanation is that this echoing of discourse fits

with the dominant strategy of survival of Anglo-Jewry, that of 'keeping one's head down', outlined in chapter one.

Janner accepted the Whitehall site and announced the project on the 20th October 1979 to the Board of Deputies, stating that he had written to the Secretary of State for the Environment "on behalf of the Board and the Community...[who] offered us the finest and most profoundly appropriate site in Britain for that purpose - in Whitehall, almost immediately opposite the Cenotaph". In the address, Janner echoed Heseltine about the need for restraint being so close to the Cenotaph and also the need for educational projects. This could be seen as an attempt to placate the YVC, who wanted some kind of educational institution to perpetuate Holocaust memory, and whose ideological differences as to the best way to memorialise the Holocaust will be examined below.

Johnson, writing about the conjunction of interests that attempted to memorialise the centenary of the 1798 rebellion in Ireland maintained that although cultural geography has concentrated on the "fractured nature of cultural production and consumption"

> it is evident that at particular historical moments one vision can acquire hegemonic status, albeit momentarily, even when the processes involved in such a creation are multivocal and fragmented.
> (Johnson 1994, 79).

In the case of the Whitehall memorial, Janner tried to create such a hegemony by attempting to secure the formal co-sponsorship of the memorial from the Council of Christians and Jews, (CCJ) and by announcing at the October 20th meeting the creation of a formal committee, the Holocaust Memorial Foundation (HMF) which was constituted to oversee the project. The HMF comprised of a number of high profile people from both the Jewish and non-

Jewish community including: Sir Sigmund Sternberg (chair), Baroness Birk (chair of design committee), Lord Pitt, Sir Montague Finniston, Judge Israel Finestein, Frank Green, Dr. I Levy, Henry Lewis, Rt. Hon. Merlyn Rees MP, Rev. Canon Douglas Webster, Archdeacon Carlyle Witton-Davis as well as the Secretary General to the Board of Deputies.

The context of the planning and implementation of the memorial was crucial. Although it is impossible to reconstruct exactly the motivations and influences of the people involved, a number of events both within Holocaust memorialisation and in the wider political context cannot have failed to have an impact on those involved. The first and perhaps the most important is the setting up in 1978 of a Commission on the Holocaust by President Jimmy Carter in the United States of America. In October 1979, two weeks before Janner's announcement of the HMF, President Carter received the recommendations of the Commission which were that a living memorial was to be set up in Washington at an estimated cost of US$50 million, together with the establishment of a day of remembrance. The apparent success of Holocaust memorialisation in the United States where these moves gave State recognition to the victims of the Holocaust, was in direct contrast to the many failed attempts in the UK.

Another important question is the relationship between Holocaust memorialisation and the image of Israel at that time. After the Holocaust, the foundation of Israel in 1948 provided a source of power and hope to Jewish people. Although Anglo-Jews did not emigrate in large numbers to Israel in the 1950s and 1960s, long distance support was seen as a unifying factor (Cooper and Morrison 1991, 110). Before the 1967 war, belief in Israel was muted. Money was given by Anglo-Jews via the Joint Palestine Appeal, the Jewish National Fund and the Women's International Zionist Organisation (WIZO). "Maybe one day we'll need it' was the hidden subtext" (ibid). The 1967 'Six Day War' changed the image of Israel and also that of the Jewish people as

victims. Israel was looked at with pride by the majority of Anglo-Jewry who gave £16 million in June and July 1967 as well as clothes and medical supplies and even volunteered to fight.

However, the Yom Kippur War in 1973 heralded another change of attitude, this time on the part of the international community. This was again a victory, but this time with heavy losses and an increasing disquiet from the international community over the treatment of the Palestinians in Israel. The economic and diplomatic leverage of the Arab sates also increased after 1973, with the price of oil tripling to US$10 a barrel. It was to reach US$38.63 by the end of 1981 (Johnson 1987, 537). A number of Developing World States ended diplomatic contact with Israel at the behest of Arab States and France built Iraq a nuclear reactor. A number of states also recognised the Palestine Liberation Organisation's leader Yasir Arafat as a head of state. "There was a real danger of Israel being driven into an international ghetto occupied solely by South Africa" (ibid.).

The period following the *Yom Kippur* War (named after the Jewish Day of Atonement, the most sacred day in the Jewish calendar when the United Arab forces invaded Israel) was characterised by what has been termed 'passive Zionism' on the part of the Anglo-Jewish community. A growing number of young adults made *aliyah* [8] and therefore any attack on Israel was also a symbolic attack on the children of Anglo-Jews. The 1975 United Nations General Assembly resolution that equated Zionism with racism, and the vilification of Israel in the press meant that Israel lost the symbolic moral high-ground that it had acquired after the Holocaust. In 1982 the invasion of Lebanon and the cutting of water and food to a besieged Beirut further reinforced this image of Israel as oppressor.

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[8] *Aliyah* has the double meaning of either 'going up' to read from the *Torah* in Synagogue or Jewish emigration to Israel (Brooks 1989).

The reaction of the British press to the announcement of the Whitehall Memorial project was rather muted. The Guardian reported that "The Board of Deputies of British Jews [was] to erect *its own* cenotaph in Whitehall as a monument to victims of Nazi oppression" (cited in Kushner, 1994; emphasis in Kushner). The Daily Telegraph reported that at a lunch to mark the launch of the proposal, Heseltine was asked by members of the Board of Deputies whether any money would be coming from Government to support the memorial. Heseltine replied "No. If a memorial like this cannot attract enough private support it is not worth erecting in the first place". He was "warmly applauded" by the people at the lunch. [9] The reply to counteract the perceived impression of the memorial as a Jewish one was swift. The Venerable Carlyle Witton-Davis, a member of the HMF and also the vice president of the CCJ wrote to The Guardian stating that,

> The proposal for a new war memorial in London is not to commemorate simply the six million Jews who met their deaths in the Nazi Gas chambers (sic), but also the five million who suffered a similar horror but who belonged to other faiths. [10]

The Jewish Chronicle reported a "London Memorial for the 11 million people, including six million Jews, who perished in the Holocaust is to be erected on a site opposite the Cenotaph in Whitehall," along with a picture of the proposed site of the "simple and restrained memorial", but the editorial of the issue focused on Moshe Dyan's resignation in Israel rather than the memorial.

What reaction there was to the proposal came very quickly and reflected the wide range of opinion on the Holocaust Memorial, from complete support to complete condemnation. Rita Eker and Margaret Rigae for the Women's campaign for Soviet Jewry were "delighted to read the report [in the Jewish Chronicle] of the memorial....We hope that it will remind all who pass of the

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[9] See Daily Telegraph, 23/10/79

martyrs who died at that time". [11] The "lunatic fringe" also had their say, with both Janner and the CCJ receiving postcards from a W.J. Whitehead, accusing them of

> cynical exploitation of the non-mainstream population in Germany, 40 plus years ago, to promote racist, violent Zionism now. (Witness 'Israeli' policies.) (sic)....The world needs peace; please dissociate yourself from these selfish gimmicks. [12]

The surprising thing with respect of public reaction to the announcement of the memorial is not that it prompted such a response in the context of a time when anti-Israeli sentiment was running high, but that there was so *little* reaction, either for or against the memorial. Again, this is an indication of the level of interest in the Holocaust amongst both the Anglo-Jewish community and wider British society at that time.

Meanwhile a number of rows were brewing behind the scenes that would ultimately lead to the break-up of the alliance that came together for the memorial. Although the formation of the HMF had been announced on the 20th October by Janner during a meeting at which the Venerable Carlyle Witton-Davies, a member of the executive council of the CCJ, gave his full support to the project, and not withstanding that individual members of the CCJ, some in prominent positions, were supporters of the memorial and were members of the HMF, the announcement of the proposed memorial was made without any prior consultation with the CCJ and its various committees. The CCJ was described as being in a state of "embarrassment and disarray because a public announcement was made before any discussion had taken place in any

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10 See The Guardian, Letters 24/10/79

11 See Jewish Chronicle, Letters 2/11/79

12 In response to Whitehead's postcard to them suggesting that the "'political' action [of supporting a memorial] was ultra vires your 'charity'", the CCJ wrote asking the advice of the Board of Deputies as to the best way to handle it. The reply, "ignore completely" is indicative of the response of the Anglo-Jewish community to the threat of antisemitism. CCJ Papers 9/85, file 2.

of our committees" and as an organisation found itself "committed to something that [it could not] fully support". [13]

This ambivalence on the part of the members of the CCJ is reflected in the pages of its quarterly journal, *Common Ground*. The project was never formally announced within its pages and the first mention of the existence of the project was an oblique reference to the Holocaust Memorial Foundation, but only with respect to its chair, Sir Sigmund Sternberg who was receiving an award.

> Sir Sigmund who is chairman (sic) of the recently-formed Holocaust Memorial Foundation, sponsored jointly by the CCJ and the Board of Deputies of British Jews, thus joins Dr. David Patterson, Principal of the Oxford Centre for postgraduate Hebrew Studies, who is also much involved in the proposed educational programme in post-Holocaust studies, as a holder of this award.
> (Common Ground, 1980 No.1 p11)

In the next issue, the HMF was again mentioned but the formal co-sponsorship of the memorial seems to be denied in the annual report.

> *We have been linked with discussion* concerning the establishment of the Holocaust Memorial Foundation, and have joined in talks with the Chief Rabbi's Consultative Committee on Christian/Jewish relations.
> (Common Ground, 1980 No.2 p10. My emphasis)

Also within the annual report was perhaps a veiled comment on the behind-the-scenes discussions over the CCJ's participation with the HMF.

> [I]t is occasionally difficult to see the wood for the trees...but this cannot prevent a sense of elation when looking back at a year in which there had

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[13] Letter written by Jennings to Marcus [Braybrooke?], 30/10/79. CCJ Papers 9/85, file 2.

> been fears of great financial *and other problems* but nevertheless, attainments of which CCJ may be proud.
> (Ibid. My emphasis.)

There were also internal conflicts within the Board of Deputies on the issue of Holocaust memorialisation. These centred on what would be the most appropriate the best way to memorialise the Holocaust in order to ensure continued memory. In ideological terms there was a split between those who wanted a physical memorial, and those who wanted a 'living memorial' in the form of an educational resource such as a museum. Although not exclusively so, this was a debate between the HMF that was set up for the purpose of erecting the memorial and the YVC who had been working in the field of Holocaust education for a number of years.

The YVC, set up in 1977 at the instigation of Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, the Israeli Government's memorial institution, aimed to promote commemoration, education and research, collect testimony, stimulate discussion within universities and participate in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising commemorations. A report to the committee a month after its official launch highlighted the aims of two of its prominent members, Rabbi Hugo Gryn and Paul Shaw who suggested that a museum dedicated to the Holocaust should be set up somewhere in London. To save money, an exhibition in a synagogue was proposed,

> which would show events of 1933-48 and their context within European Jewish History....The centre should also include an appropriately equipped room with seating accommodation for 30-40 people which could be used for discussion, films and academic seminars....Both of us felt that there could be existing unused space of this order available on synagogue premises in the London area, and that the Committee should

> explore this possibility further. It would drastically reduce the cost of establishing the centre.

Despite the financial commitment, Gryn and Shaw also proposed the formation of a full-time Educational Officer with responsibility for a range of activities including "the production and dissemination of information on the Holocaust to both the Jewish and non-Jewish educational sectors". [14]

A year later in 1979, a memo from Frank Green to the other members of the committee detailing suggested activities for the coming year forcefully reflects the ideological emphasis of the YVC. Out of the four suggestions, three were of an educational nature and the fourth headed 'memorial' dealt with a campaign for the collection of pages of testimony and only the

> *consideration* of the creation of a permanent memorial to the Martyrs of the Holocaust to be sponsored and dedicated by the Board of Deputies on behalf of British Jewry and if possible unveiled by HM the Queen. (My emphasis). [15]

One member of the YVC at that time suggests that Janner set up the HMF almost without realising that the YVC had been working on memorialising the Holocaust for some time but in a different way. Although this can hardly be the case, it does show the depth of feeling within the YVC who reacted with "consternation" when they heard the HMF was being formed. It also showed the lack of a consensus on this issue. Although the YVC had proposed a memorial to the 'Martyrs of the Holocaust', [16] the main ideological thrust of the committee was educational including the funding of a fellowship at the Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies at Yarnton Manor rather than physical memorials per se. The suspension of YVC funding initiatives in February 1980

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14 Gryn and Shaw to the YV(UK)C, 28/3/77. YV(UK)C archives
15 Frank Green to YV(UK) members, 14/3/79. YV(UK)C archives.
16 See YV(UK)C Minutes 14/3/79.

at the personal request of Greville Janner to help the HMF with its unsuccessful funding drive, further aggravated the differences.

Although there were some in the committee who supported the idea of a memorial, many felt that it would be a financial threat to the educational work that the YVC were involved in. An indication of this is the motion put forward by the chair at the April 1980 meeting of the YVC. At this time the HMF still had no official confirmation of the site for the memorial and were still awaiting Charitable Trust status. The motion was to the effect that "if by October there is no clearer indication of how or when the money will materialise, then we should re-commence our own fund-raising". The motion was carried unanimously. The committee was also reminded by one of its members that "it is our function to educate and teach the Holocaust not to concern ourselves with the memorial".[17]

The forming of a separate committee by Janner may have been the result of a realisation that for the project to have any chance of succeeding, a number of actors had to be assembled with enough political and symbolic capital to 'sell' the idea to the Government and perhaps more importantly to the Jewish community. The national profile of the YVC was low, whereas a number of members of the HMF were household names, including a former Home Secretary. To legitimate further the claim for a memorial it was also felt necessary to have the backing of the presidents of the CCJ: the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Chief Rabbi, the moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council and the Catholic Archbishop of Westminster.

However, as well as being presidents of the CCJ, the Archbishop of Canterbury, along with the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland

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17 See YV(UK)C Minutes 30/4/80. See also letter from Janner to Reiss (chair of YVC) 1/7/83. "I know your committee was not initially very taken with the memorial project - but I hope that

and the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council, were also presidents of another organisation called the British Council of Churches (BCC). The hope that major Christian figures in Britain including the Archbishop of Canterbury would give their support to the memorial and attend the dedication ultimately failed due to a number of pressures and ideological conflicts that were present in the BCC. Firstly the memorial was seen as a "rallying point for the forces of good and the forces of evil". [18] It was feared by the BCC that the neo-fascist activity that was prevalent in the UK at that time would use the memorial as a focus of resistance. Also the geo-political context in the Middle East cannot be ignored. The BCC was at that time a constituent part of the World Council of Churches (WCC) and therefore also allied to the Middle East Council of Churches. The BCC at that time had "a problem with Zionism". [19]

The continued political unrest in the Middle East with the Israeli-Arab conflict either covertly or overtly ongoing meant that the advisory group of the BCC did not want to embarrass their presidents by advising them to be involved with a project that they could not support for ideological reasons. There is some indication that Robert Runcie, the Archbishop of Canterbury at that time, had sympathies with the call for a memorial. However, the refusal of the BCC in March 1980 to give their backing to the project was couched in terms of the need for reconciliation and the "healing of the European psyche" and implicitly that the Holocaust memorial would hinder that reconciliation.

There were also at that time hints that the Christian community were beginning to think in terms of their own 'guilty history' about the treatment of the Jews in Europe. [20] In the same letter suggesting that the Holocaust memorial would damage the reconciliation of Europe was also an admission that "there is no

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nevertheless you and your colleagues will take pride in the way that it eventually evolved. And I am grateful to you for your quiet support".

[18] Peter Jennings, personal communication, 11/12/95

[19] Ibid.

[20] Many authors, most notably Rubenstein and Roth (1987), have argued that one of the preconditions of the Holocaust was two thousand years of Christian anti-Judaism.

lack of shame among us at the appalling atrocities committed so recently in the midst of what was once described with pride as European civilisation". [21] One could suggest therefore that another reason why the BCC refused their support was the desire not to have this role exposed by the questions that a memorial would necessarily provoke. [22]

With the benefit of hindsight, Janner believes that the Holocaust Memorial project would have stood a greater chance of success if he had not announced the memorial at such an early stage. [23] With the project in its infancy, it gave oppositional forces from both within and without the Jewish community to disrupt this hegemony and construct a counter argument as to why the Whitehall site was *not* an appropriate place for remembering the Holocaust.

Opposition to the memorial came from a number of different sources but all were concerned overtly with the desecration of sacred space. This took the form of the argument that any memorial to the Holocaust would immediately be destroyed or damaged in some way by neo-fascists and would also "open the flood gates" to other memorials in Whitehall. The centrality of the Cenotaph and the heroic version of British history in the Second World War would also be damaged by its association with a Holocaust Memorial and the other memorials that were bound to follow. However, it can be argued that the

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21 See Witton-Davis to Jennings (11/6/80). The Archbishop was worried that the memorial would be seen to be a political project. Also see letter from Rev. Harry O'Morton (General Secretary of the BCC) to Canon Douglas Webster, (Chair of CCJ Executive Committee and Member of the Holocaust Memorial Foundation. (4/3/80) CCJ Papers 9/85, file 1.

22 Such discourses over the supposed difference between Jewish 'revenge' and Christian 'forgiveness' surfaced again almost ten years later during the campaign to change legislation in order that war crimes trials could be conducted in the UK. The Times commented that "Britain is a Christian country. Its laws enshrine principals of justice tempered with mercy, not vengeance". The campaign was seen by many to be the work of an active pro-Israel (therefore Jewish) lobby group. Tony Marlow, then Conservative Member of Parliament for Northampton North, warned the Home Secretary to be "extremely wary on this particular issue and take note of the fact that the supporters of this particular proposal are motivated not by justice, but by the demands of propaganda". The campaign also prompted unease by some among the Jewish Establishment who, like those who protested against the Whitehall memorial project, thought that an assertion of perceived 'Jewish issues' such as the War Crimes campaign would only cause antisemitism (in Cesarani 1992b, 210).

23 Janner, personal communication, 23/11/95

Cenotaph site does not represent a wartime memory of Britain that is monolithic. Although the centrality of the Cenotaph in the memory of Britain at war is hard to dispute, the number of rituals in the form of marches that already at that time used and continue to use the Cenotaph as the focal point indicates the contested nature of such memory. Integrating the Cenotaph into a ritual is an attempt to appropriate wider narratives of Britain at war into particular political projects, be they those of the National Front, the Anglo-Jewish community or the Gay and Lesbian community in the UK. It is worthwhile at this point explaining the place of the Cenotaph in the British war memory.

The Cenotaph and British War Memory.

The Cenotaph in Whitehall (see plate 6) has long been recognised as one of the defining mnemonic sites of British war memory. A temporary wooden structure was placed in Whitehall in 1919, designed by Sir Edward Lutyens as part of the Victory Parade to mark the end of the First World War. Ownership of the memorial has always been open to interpretation as there was no formal dedication ceremony where the memorial was transferred from those who proposed and built the original structure and 'given' to the nation as a whole. The sacred nature of the site was always assumed, being consecrated by the 1919 march to commemorate the Allies' victory in the war and therefore it was felt that the site should be protected and made permanent. Indeed Lutyens himself thought that "the site had been qualified by the salute of Foch [French Marshall and commander of the Allied forces on the Western Front] and the allied armies and by our men" (Curtis 1994, 34). The increasing number of wreathes that accumulated at the base of the memorial testified to its growing importance in the minds of the British public. Men would raise their hats as they passed and it was declared "the only monument in London which passers-by naturally and of their own accord salute" (ibid, 37).

Plate 6: The Cenotaph and Whitehall

From its very inception however, the Cenotaph was also part of the construction of the memory of the Great War in 'racial' terms. As Kushner has argued, the 1919 Victory parade was an exclusive space of white remembrance of the war, interesting "for those who were *not* allowed to take part" (Kushner n.d.). Black troops were banned from taking part in the parade, but the exclusive nature of the remembrance ritual was not just limited to skin colour. For example, there was also debate on the route that the Victory March should

take. In the end a route through South London was chosen above one through the East End as this area, the Cabinet suggested, was populated by "foreigners" i.e. Jews, who were represented, according to contemporary discourses, as disloyal and subversive. Thus

> the multi-racial, diverse British war effort had become transformed in official memory into an all Anglo-Saxon affair. The otherness of Jews, Afro-Caribbeans and Asians was such that they were deemed to have no role in this crucial moment of the nation's history.
> (Kushner n.d.)

There were also concerns over individual appropriation of the memorial. The 25,000 unemployed ex-servicemen who marched past the Cenotaph during the 1922 Armistice Day commemorations with pawn tickets pinned to their chests and their medals hanging from banners was greeted with "resentment" by the state. (Curtis 1994). [24]

Therefore, the importance of the Cenotaph site in the construction and representation of British war memory is crucial when trying to understand the debates during 1979 to 1981 over whether Whitehall would be an appropriate place for a memorial to the victims of the Holocaust. [25]

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[24] The debates over the ownership of the Cenotaph continue well into the present. In 1981, widespread uproar followed the appearance of the then leader of the Labour Party, Michael Foot, wearing of a car coat represented by the press as a Donkey-jacket at the Remembrance Sunday service. Debates over the appropriateness of his dress masked deeper issues over the conflict between his right to speak for the working class and the Tory vision of a national past (Curtis, 1994).

[25] A further indication as to the exclusiveness of British war memory is referenced by the annual Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen and Women's parade of Remembrance. This occurs a week *after* the 'national' Remembrance Day Service which is held on the Sunday after the 11th November. This is because the Chief Rabbi cannot be an active participant of a religious ceremony that is not multi-faith. The ceremony on Remembrance Sunday is exclusively Christian.

The Dilution of Sacred Memorial Space.

During the debates surrounding the proposal for a Holocaust monument in Whitehall, the relationship between the Jewish fate and the British war dead was called into question. Identification on national rather than religious grounds is clearly shown by one prominent Jewish member of the CCJ who "objected very much to there being anything facing the Cenotaph, which is the memorial to the fallen of *our* country in World Wars One and Two" (Emphasis added). A prominent Christian member threatened to resign if the memorial was placed "next to the Cenotaph (which after all, commemorates all British subjects regardless of Creed who died in the war)...[it was] bound to cause some offence". [26]

Although not divided strictly along religious lines the refusal of the BCC to give their backing to the project fuelled frustration among members of the HMF. With the Richmond Terrace site and the Foundation's charitable status still unconfirmed, an "agonising" meeting of that committee was held in April 1980 when the project seemed to have stumbled. Jennings was left to try and explain the BCC's decision to "a roomful of hurt and bewildered Jews". [27]

The need for consensus was so great that one of the members of the HMF recommended the scrapping of the physical memorial unless there was unequivocal support from the Presidents of the CCJ. With the BCC's refusal to sanction the memorial and therefore the Archbishop of Canterbury receiving contradictory advice from the BCC and CCJ, the decision was taken

> that in order to avoid any embarrassment to the Archbishop of Canterbury and to the other presidents, the CCJ should withdraw its formal co-sponsorship of the HMF.

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[26] Rothschild to Jennings (22/4/80) and de Juluate to Rothschild. CCJ Papers 9/85, file 2.
[27] See Meeting of HMF Committee House of Commons 24/4/80 and Jennings to Webster 25/4/80. CCJ Papers 9/86.

The various committees of the CCJ were said to be "deeply and conscientiously divided, not only among Christians but among members of the Jewish community". Although the Holocaust Memorial project was to become within the CCJ "the most controversial thing...in twenty years," (Kushner, 1994, 260), the official history of the organisation written by Braybrooke in 1991 makes no reference to the memorial itself, let alone the discussions surrounding its planning. [28]

In order to understand the involvement and the actions of the CCJ in the campaign for a Holocaust memorial, it is first necessary to examine the context of its founding in 1942 as well as its aims and objectives which have a direct bearing in the actions of the organisation.

In 1941, the Archbishop of York, soon to be Archbishop of Canterbury, William Temple set out the aims of the CCJ which were to combat all forms of discrimination and to witness to the common values of Christians and Jews. Explicit reference was made to the situation in Nazi Germany. The remit for the CCJ was tightly defined, and there was to be no interference in teaching or any religious fraternisation. The Council was officially launched on the 20th March 1942 with representatives of the major Christian denominations such as the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council as well as the Chief Rabbi assuming the Joint Presidency. Absent from the joint Presidents was the Catholic prelate, Cardinal Hinsley, who refused to accept the invitation. Seven Jews and seven Christians were co-opted onto an Executive Committee who had the responsibility of running the organisation. Dr. James Parkes, one of the leading scholars of Jewish-Christian relations and antisemitism, was one of the Christian members.

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[28] See Jennings to Morgan 29/9/80. CCJ Papers 9/85, file 1. The sanitised history also removes any mention of the somewhat acrimonious departure of Peter Jennings, the Executive Director of the CCJ until 1981. See CCJ papers 9/117.

The complex nature of any organisation which tries to foster co-operation between exclusive ideologies was shown when the Chief Rabbi, Dr. Hertz threatened to resign even before the official launch, suggesting that the draft announcement of the aims of the Council conflicted with its agreed position of non-interference in the teaching of the different faiths. This problem was circumvented by an amendment to the minutes whereby educational matters were considered beyond the remit of the CCJ but the Christian members were asked "to seek ways of using their personal influence in the matter apart from the Council" (Braybrooke 1991, 16). With Cardinal Hinsley agreeing to join, contingent of a number of conditions, the Joint Presidency was complete and the public announcement of the CCJ's formation could be made.

The official announcement again made explicit reference to the treatment of the Jews in Germany including the primary concern of the rise of antisemitism.

> In the forefront of their efforts to create division within every community the Nazis have always placed antisemitism, which is repugnant to the moral principals common to Christianity and Judaism alike. We cannot afford to ignore the effects of the steady propagation of this evil throughout the world. It is not only a menace to the unity of every community in which it takes root, but it is the very negation of those values on which alone we believe that a new and better world can be established.
> (Ibid, 18).

Indeed one of the first actions of the executive was to try and verify the recent rumours of Nazi atrocities on the continent and a deputation was sent to the Foreign Office. The use of the symbolic capital of the Joint Presidency allowed some minor concessions to be won from the British Government, however there was increasing despondency on the part of the Council as to their role in helping the persecuted Jewish populations of occupied countries. The protests

of Temple, in particular, were contrary to the discursive framework of the British Government which replied that refugees might be members of Nazi or Communist cells and also that any special treatment of Jews might lead to an increase in antisemitism in the UK. Temple continued to protest against what he saw as the inactivity of the British Government, suggesting that a Government official should be appointed with concern for the plight of the Jews of Europe:

> we cannot rest so long as there is any sense among us that we are not doing all that might be done....We at this moment have upon us a tremendous responsibility. We stand at the bar of history, of humanity, and of God.
> (Iremonger 1948, cited in Braybrooke 1991, 23).

Such an appointment was unthinkable in the discursive framework of both the British Government and of the majority of the Jewish community which discouraged focus on the Holocaust as a particular 'Jewish problem'.

The perception of the aims of the CCJ had important consequences for its structure. The compromise coalition which allowed the inclusion of the Chief Rabbi and the British Roman Catholic Prelate floundered in 1954 when the Archbishop of Westminster, Cardinal Griffin withdrew from the CCJ on instruction for Rome. The reasons for this was a perceived "religious indifferentism", a blurring of the boundaries of the distinctiveness of the religions involved. In his resignation letter, Cardinal Griffin wrote that

> Whereas in [the early days of the CCJ] the main emphasis of the Council's work lay on countering antisemitism and on co-operation between Christians and Jews in regard to problems arising principally from conditions created by the war, the emphasis seems now to have shifted to the educational field where the promotion of mutual

> understanding is being conducted in a way likely to produce religious indifferentism.
> (Braybrooke 1991, 33).

This emphasis also had a direct influence on the organisation's reaction to the Whitehall Holocaust memorial. Although during the 1970s and 1980s the range of CCJ activities continued to expand and involve projects that would promote inter-faith understanding its main concern, as it had been in the 1950s, was the combating of antisemitism. However, the set of discourses which maintained that any public articulation of the Jewish particularity of the Holocaust would inevitably lead to a rise in antisemitism continued. This attitude was common among the senior officials of the CCJ and this made the CCJ's involvement with the campaign problematic. The memorial in Whitehall, publicly understood as a memorial to the Jewish victims of the Holocaust would, according to this discursive framework, promote antisemitism. The campaign therefore conflicted with the central aim of the organisation which was to fight antisemitism.

In December 1980, the permission for the memorial to be situated within Whitehall was withdrawn by the Government - ostensibly for security reasons. However, Janner maintains that pressure was brought to bear on the Foreign Office by an "Arab ambassador". [29] As Kushner (1994) suggests, there must have been relief that the site was no longer available. Also at that time it was announced that the Government was offering a site in one of the Royal Parks for the establishment of a 'garden of remembrance' (see fig: 3).

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[29] Kushner (1994, 338) and Janner, personal communication, 23/11/95

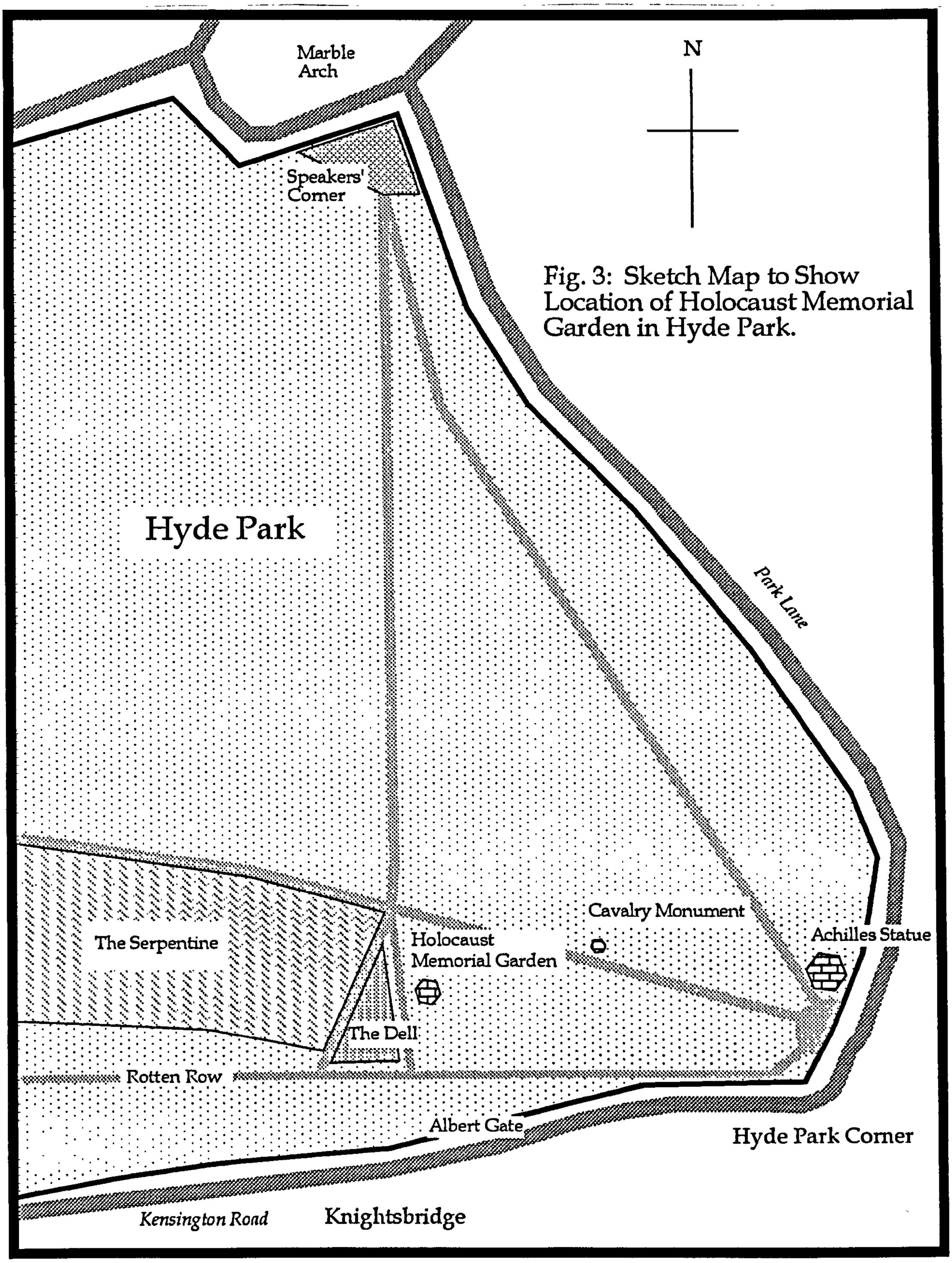

Fig. 3: Sketch Map to Show Location of Holocaust Memorial Garden in Hyde Park.

As previously stated, the memorial was now a Jewish initiative but the internal debates over the appropriate way to memorialise the Holocaust prompted the formation of an even smaller group allied to Janner, within the Jewish community. The chair of the Holocaust Memorial Committee (HMC) - as it was now known - was Arnold Morris, a man who, according to Janner, provided most of the money and believed that an odd number was required for any committee and that three was too many! The architect commissioned to design the garden was Colonel Richard Seifert, an internationally renowned Jewish architect who had designed, amongst other things, the National Westminster Tower in London. [30]

Nearly two years later on the 22nd March 1983 Neil MacFarlane, Environment Under-Secretary, announced in the House of Commons that there would be such a memorial near the Dell, Hyde Park Corner. The Daily Telegraph reported that a "memorial garden to the 11 million victims of the Nazi holocaust will be created". This time, however, although the garden was supposed to be to remember all 11 million victims it would be a solely Jewish initiative with the "few thousand pounds" which the memorial would cost, being provided by "prominent British Jews". [31] Also contained in the article was an unintended warning as to what might happen to a memorial that disrupted the collected memory of Britain at war. An appeal to replace the memorial to the victims of Yalta was reported. "The original sculpture commemorating 2 million Russians and East Europeans forcibly repatriated by Britain in 1945 was mysteriously destroyed in the summer of 1982". [32]

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[30] There is a continuity here between earlier attempts by the Anglo-Jewish community to construct a Holocaust Memorial. The architectural firm Seifert and Partners were also involved with the 'Permanent Memorial to the Jewish Victims of Nazism' initiative of the late 1960s under the chair of Sir (later Lord) Barnett Janner MP, Greville's father which was to be housed at the B'nai B'rith Foundation in Endsleigh Street, London.

[31] Daily Telegraph, 23/3/83 'Holocaust Memorial Approved'.

[32] Elliot (1982) has argued that the Yalta agreement has become a forgotten episode in the history of the United States of America, due to a number of factors, not least the attitude of the US military who "came to abhor its task of mass extradition" but also the relationship between the construction of victims of the Second World War. Thus the fate of the Yalta victims "had to compete with the even more horrendous revelations of Nazi atrocities. The enormity of the

With this final agreement came a rush to complete the memorial. The internal and external disagreements that had been voiced when the original memorial was announced, dictated the strategy that was pursued by Janner with respect to the memorial garden in Hyde Park: to reduce the number of people involved in the campaign. Disquiet continued to be voiced however by the YVC. A meeting of the YVC in April 1983 expressed concern about the terms of the inscription but the chair suggested that "the matter was outside the control and influence of the committee". [33]

Playing the numbers game: I.

The inscription on the memorial did provoke a dilemma for Janner and Seifert. The official discourse surrounding the memorial represented it as a memorial to *all* the victims of the Holocaust. However, the tensions between this and the private convictions of many within the Jewish community as to the specificity of the Jewish experience was reflected in the lack of a figure to number the dead on the memorial. Janner himself believes that the Hyde Park Garden is a memorial to the victims of the Holocaust in the sense that the Jewish community understands the Holocaust. i.e. to the six million Jewish victims. The deliberate lack of a figure however, leaves the memorial's memory ambiguous, ready to be given meaning by the rituals that have come to define it as a Jewish space. [34]

The definition of the mnemonic site as Jewish is also signified by the inscription on the largest memorial stone (see plate 7). The words 'Holocaust Memorial Garden' are carved in the face along with a verse from Lamentations in both Hebrew and English.

German crime against the Jews eclipsed even the massive mistreatment and starvation of Soviet prisoners of war...and slave laborers (sic)" (Elliot 1982, 2-3).

[33] See YV(UK)C Minutes 27/4/83.

[34] Janner, personal communication, 23/11/95.

For these I weep
Streams of tears flow from my eyes
Because of the destruction of my people.

Plate 7: The Hyde Park Holocaust Monument.

A simplistic reading of this verse allows for the all victims of the Holocaust to be memorialised: the destruction of *all* people under God, be they Jew, Christian, Communist, Romany etc. However as with the ambiguity caused by the lack of a figure detailing the number of the dead, the inscription is open to a

number of readings and interpretations. The book of Lamentations in the Hebrew Bible refers the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple in 587 BCE by the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar which is dealt with more factually in II Kings. Lamentations supplies the meaning of this episode, recalling the horrors and atrocities of the siege and its aftermath, as well as the spiritual significance of the fall of the city (Hillers 1972, xv). It is an expression of both grief and a confession of the sins of the people which led to the destruction of the city, foretold by the prophets. The narration of the poem, shifts from an external view of the destruction to a more intimate, personalised view, spoken by Zion.

> [T]he introduction at this point of Zion herself as the speaker is a means by which the poet expresses the central tragedy of the situation. The point of the book is not just that a nation has fallen and that a man, or the survivors as a whole is grieved, but that a greater thing, a greater person, is in anguish: Zion, the city of God, the community of the elect, who in her historical being in not identical with those alive at any one time. (Ibid, 17).

Therefore if a closer reading of the inscription is taken, the Biblical reference maintains the primacy of the community of the elect, i.e. the Jews and therefore the Holocaust are situated and made knowable within the narrative of Jewish historiography and mythology.

The Dedication of the Holocaust Memorial Garden.

As has been shown with reference to the Cenotaph, the dedication of a memorial has a profound effect on its subsequent meaning. The Government's view and the official public discourse was that the memorial was to "commemorate the victims of all faiths" and this was reiterated by Mr. Patrick

Jenkin, the newly appointed Secretary of State for the Environment. The delicate balance between the particularity of the Jewish Holocaust and the universal message was asserted though, when he acknowledged that "[i]t is *fitting* that the Board should take the lead in this memorial" (emphasis added). It could only be 'fitting' if he considered that the Jews were the primary victims of the Holocaust and thus Jewish specificity within Holocaust memory was maintained.

The delicate balancing act to portray the Hyde Park Holocaust Memorial Garden as a monument to all victims of the Holocaust, whilst at the same time maintaining the Jews as the primary victims was compromised however, as elsewhere the memorial is described as bringing Britain in line with other European capitals where "memorials to the six million victims of the Holocaust have existed for years". [35] The connection to Israel, although understated, was present. The *Hatikvah*, the Israeli National Anthem, was sung and two of the most prominent Holocaust survivors in Britain at that time, Ben Helfgott and Kitty Hart (later Hart-Moxon), laid a blue and white wreath during the ceremony (see plate 8). [36] These themes will be explored in more later in this chapter in the sections dealing with Holocaust ritual and memory.

A Memorial that 'Blends' into the Landscape.

A number of continuing themes run through the promotional literature for the dedication service and the private communications and discussions between those involved. Underpinning the memory of the Holocaust at this time was an understanding of the particularity of the Jewish experience as the primary

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35 JC 1/7/83 'Holocaust Garden Dedicated'.

36 The choice of these two particular people is not accidental. Kitty Hart-Moxon became one of the first Holocaust survivors to speak and write publicly about her experiences and achieved widespread prominence with the broadcasting of a television programme on Yorkshire TV called 'Kitty - Return to Auschwitz' (JC 9/11/79). Ben Helfgott was a prominent member of the YVC, becoming chair in the mid 1980s, and is a founder member of the '45 Aid Society of Holocaust Survivors.

Plate 8: The Dedication of the Hyde Park Holocaust Memorial Garden, June 1983. [37]

[37] From left to right: Rt. Hon Patrick Jenkin, Rt. Hon. Greville Janner, Ben Helfgott, Kitty Hart

victims of the Holocaust. This proved problematic for the main actors within the campaign for the monument, all leading Anglo-Jews, who were operating within a strategic framework of assimilation and non-particularity. The continuing references to the blending in of the memorial garden with the Hyde Park landscape is indicative of these tensions. Arnold Morris, the chair of the appeals committee, wrote in the promotional booklet commemorating a dedication ceremony that "[t]his simple modest project - blending into the area of park land much used and enjoyed by the public - will serve as a dignified and permanent reminder of vast and devastating past tragedy". Greville Janner in a speech at the luncheon after the dedication ceremony suggested that the memorial will "blend into the park and into the lives and memories of Britain's people, Jews and non-Jews alike". However, elsewhere in the same speech, the memorial is also supposed to "cry out to all those who love their liberty", and would be "not only a reminder of past tragedy, but a flare of warning for the future, to extremists who would destroy the Jewish community". [38]

The wish to hide the memorial away was shared by the Hyde Park authorities who were "adamant" that no seating, permanent or temporary, should be near the memorial. The lack of seating near the memorial causes problems for the participants who have to stand for an hour or more at the annual service. Many of those who come to the service are elderly Holocaust survivors and must be in great discomfort. The issue of temporary seating for the service has been raised but the organisers believe that the service is only allowed to take place by the Park authorities under sufferance and that having temporary seating would be seen as a further inconvenience and run the risk of the service being cancelled. Another outcome of the lack of seating is that visibility is poor. Because of the site of the memorial, apart from those standing in the first few rows, the participants cannot see what is going on, leading many to stand outside the memorial space and peer in through the back.

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[38] See YV(UK)C minutes 27/6/83.

In order to understand the many meanings that this particular attempt to memorialise the Holocaust generates, it is necessary to explore the many, often contradictory meanings that that most English of phenomena, the garden, generates. Morris (1997) has looked at the way in which the memorial gardens of the Western Front in the First World War were intersected with class, gender, sexuality, nationalism and ethnicity. The attempt was made to make this "corner of a foreign field" English and so flowers that were native to Britain were used to represent the dead coming 'home.' This has to be understood in the context of the decision by the British Government that no bodies were to be repatriated as it was thought that this would cause division within the general population and disrupt the 'equality in death' image that helped make sense of the sacrifice.

The garden, abundant with images of England, could be said to link nation and soil in a representation of the English countryside and locate the conflict in a pre-Industrial, pre-modern landscape that was diametrically opposed to the first industrial, modern war. The garden also generated meanings of innocence and rebirth, control and regeneration, referencing that most archetypal of gardens, Eden. Gardens were also thought to be beneficial for mental and physical health, important at a time when the psychological effects of warfare were first becoming known (Pick, 1993).

These discourses that link soil and national identity are more prevalent in a rival plan for the Hyde Park memorial. This was designed by Fred Kormis, the sculptor of the Prisoner of War and Concentration Camp Victims Memorial at Dollis Hill (see chapter three). A sketch showed Kormis' idea in the JC. This comprised two elongated outstretched arms reaching to the sky in a gesture of remorse or of imploring help. The size of the memorial was to be dependent on the eventual site which at that time yet to be finalised. Soil was to have been brought from the victims' native lands and the arms would rise out of this earth and reach to the London sky.

The grounding of the memorial in soils from other lands is meant to make this mnemonic site a "multinational memorial [which would] encourage deeper interest and support". [39] However it is doubtful whether any of the soil would have come from the UK to represent the UK victims who died in the Holocaust and it seems as though the Holocaust would have received a symbolic grounding *outside* of the UK - as though any attempt to build a memorial on UK soil would be an act of pollution. [40] This response to the Holocaust, although more imaginative than the final design in its material form and its symbolism, reinforced the distance between the UK and the experience of the Holocaust.

The internal debates over the Holocaust memorial were also highlighted by Kormis' involvement with the memorial process. A month earlier than the JC article, Kormis had written to Leonard Goss, then General Secretary of the CCJ asking for information about the memorial project. Goss' reply was rather terse, suggesting that Kormis get in touch with the Board of Deputies as it was their project.

> While it is true that the President of the Board of Deputies mentioned the CCJ in announcing plans for the Holocaust Memorial, this was without the prior consultation with CCJ, and somewhat embarrassing to most of us within the CCJ who are members of the Board. [41]

Thus the Kormis and Seifert designs for the Hyde Park Holocaust memorial tie into a particular English form of remembrance. Many cities and towns in England have gardens of remembrance. The theme of a 'living memorial' that

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[39] See JC 5/3/82.

[40] An interesting parallel can be drawn here with memorials to the Holocaust in Paris, mentioned earlier. Soil from Concentration and Extermination camps as well as an unknown French victim of the 'deportations' were interned within the *mémorial des Martyrs de la Déportation* on the *Îsle de la France* in Paris. Completing the cementation of the discourses that give prominence to the French victims the memorial's white walls are "aggregated from stones extracted from all of France's mountain ranges, in a form of homage by the entire country to its martyrs" (Booklet produced about the memorial by the *Ministère des Anciens Combattants et Victimes de Guerre* n.d.).

[41] See letter from Goss to Kormis, 16/2/82. CCJ papers 9/86.

runs through many of the debates over Holocaust memorialisation in the UK can be seen to be represented in the memorial garden in Hyde Park. Although not the living memorial in the form of museum that was envisaged by those on the YVC, in one sense it is still a living memorial in the way that it basically *is* living. The garden is both a symbol of rejuvenation and redemption. It is a signal that the Holocaust can be laid to rest and that the Anglo-Jewish population, rather than those who died in the Holocaust have now been redeemed. The birch trees that surround the monument (see plate 9) explicitly reference the birch forest that surrounded the extermination camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau [42] rather than the English landscape and implicitly reference the hiding of Anglo-Jewry's failure adequately to come to terms with the history of the Holocaust.

Many believed that the stones that form the central display came from the Death camp at Birkenau, whereas it is actually granite from an unspecified location in the North of England. [43] The use of this type of rock is significant on a number of different levels. Granite was chosen as it is hard wearing and difficult to damage. Whereas Auschwitz stone would have been appropriate for the memorial's explicit purpose -to memorialise those lost in the Holocaust - the act of providing an English rock as the focal point reflects that the memorial primarily references the guilty history of Anglo-Jewry and Britain that is unintentionally represented at this particular mnemonic site. The uncarved rock that is the symbolic gravestone where families can come to remember also references the inactivity of the Anglo-Jewish population both during and after the Second World War with respect to the Holocaust. A further significance in choosing granite as opposed to (say) the Portland stone which is typical of monuments in the UK is that the memorial garden does not *look like a typical British war monument,* and blends into the landscape in a way that a carved monument of Portland Stone like the Cenotaph can not. The contradiction between the wish that the memorial should serve as a site of memory but that it

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42 'Birkenau' means birch.

Plate 9 The Birch trees that frame the monument.

should also be almost invisible compromises the memorial as a mnemonic site, or rather, points to the 'keeping one's head down' world view of Anglo-Jewry rather than the Holocaust.

Many of these discourses were echoed in the reaction to the dedication ceremony which was mainly couched in terms of the visibility of the memorial and how appropriate it was for the purpose of memorialising (on the whole) the Jewish Holocaust. A G.N. Leigh wrote to Janner after the service to congratulate him on the success of the event.

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[43] Col. R. Seifert, personal communication, 4/2/96.

> It was a most moving experience at Hyde Park today, and those present could not have failed to have been moved by the emotions of those who were attending. The garden, looked beautiful and tranquil with the memorial stone itself beautifully set into its natural surroundings. [44]

However, Mrs. June Jacobs, possibly the same Mrs. Jacobs who was a member of the YVC at that time, was more typical of those who wrote to the JC to record her feelings about the ceremony. Although "deeply moved" by the ceremony, she wondered

> if people passing by next week, next year and next century will understand that the rock commemorates the heinous murder of six million Jews by the Nazis in the war of 1939-45....[the inscription will only] "serve to remind those who know already, will not inform the uninformed.

In replying to this, Greville Janner seemingly deliberately missed the point hoping to not stir up or continue the debate, repeating that "soon, when the turf has been given time to settle, the fence will be down and the site will blend into the park". [45]

Letters were also received from some who felt that the aesthetics of the memorial were inappropriate for such a theme. One suggested that, "[w]ith due respect to Mr. Seifert [the architect], I cannot help feeling that an artist who passed through Auschwitz might have added something that his memorial is lacking". Another felt more strongly, thinking that the memorial was "unworthy," comparing the memorial garden unfavourably to the Cavalry Memorial also in Hyde Park, with its "simple but dignified brass epitaph" (see plate 10). When it came to the memorial for,

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[44] Leigh to Janner 27/6/83. YV(UK)C archives.
[45] See Janner to JC 15/7/83.

> millions of my Jewish heritage who suffered horrors beyond human endurance, I was ashamed for British Jewry. Who had the audacity to stick up a huge ugly stone, with a few ill-written words that could hardly be seen to be read?

Plate 10: Cavalry Monument in Hyde Park.

The writer also appealed for others to write and complain. The following week another visitor to the memorial after the dedication was "frustrated" with what she saw and demanded a plaque stating, "[t]his Garden is a memorial to all victims of the Holocaust," and also and in a stinging attack on the Board of Deputies suggested that a fund should be set up for such a plaque "if the Board [of Deputies] can't afford it":

> I realise that in a few years, when the garden is mature, it could look very beautiful, but by that time the memorial inscription will be even less visible than it is now. Possibly Mr. Seifert, the architect, saw some deep symbolic meaning in the pile of rock, but he will likely be the only one. [46]

Arnold Morris, the Chair of Holocaust Memorial Committee, replied that, whatever form the memorial had taken, it would not have pleased everybody. "Most people who have visited it, regard it as worthy, dignified and especially in the setting, very beautiful". [47]

Another issue raised by this debate is the seeming incongruity between a Holocaust monument located in a 'beautiful garden setting' but which references a set of events and places which could be described as the *anus mundi*. Young (1993) has discussed this "dissonance" in the case of Segal's Holocaust monument in San Francisco, [48] suggesting that the relationship between monument and setting is "an ironic perversion of pastoral oft noted by [Holocaust] survivors" (Young 1993, 317). Segal himself maintained that the "contrast may in itself speak volumes - about the beauty of the world and the dark underside of human nature" (ibid). The outcome will not solely be a representation of "agony in paradise" but will have profound effects for the meaning of the monument itself. For Young, in the

> sunshine and spectacular view, memory is externalised, swallowed up in the vastness of its setting. The human forms in particular are miniaturised in such a landscape, reduced and made less striking. Indeed, it could be said that we often seek out such beautiful surroundings precisely to lose ourselves in them, places where our

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[46] See Letters page, JC 5/8/83 and also Baum to the JC 12/8/83. I wrote to Mrs. Baum asking whether she had had any response to her appeal, but at the time of submission I have had no response from her.

[47] See Morris to JC 12/8/83.

[48] For a set of images of Segal's monument at the Legion of Honour in San Francisco, see Young (1993, 311-318).

> thoughts and preoccupations are made to look small and inconsequential by comparison. (1993, 316).

Thus, "in such a context, the figures see to refer neither to their material, nor to themselves...instead, they are drawn outside themselves by the landscape, becoming less about themselves than part of their surroundings". (1993, 317).

This is also true of the Hyde Park Memorial Garden. The monument, in both its naturalistic design and the way in which it is shrouded by birch trees, does 'blend' into the environment (see plate 11). [49] Instead of being a stark reminder of past tragedy, the monument becomes a secluded secret garden. The "agony in paradise" within is the conflict surrounding Anglo-Jewish identity, between 'Jewishness' and 'Englishness', and between commemoration of the Holocaust and a wish to keep the difficult issues raised by such commemoration hidden away from prying eyes.

Plate 11: A 'Memorial that Blends into the Landscape'.

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[49] So much so that when I first went to try and find it, I spent two hours searching, and passed by within ten metres of it twice before finding it.

Contested Landscape, Contested Memory.

The fears of those who thought that any memorial would be a focus for anti-Jewish sentiment were proved correct. Just seven weeks after it was dedicated, "the abstract central rock arrangement" was daubed with black paint obscuring the inscription. A message scrawled on a placard left next to the memorial read "sheker ein lo raglayim" a quotation from Rashi translated as "falsehood has no leg to stand on". "The suggestion that it was written by someone with knowledge of the Jewish sources must be regarded as disturbing".[50]

An interesting comparison can be drawn here between the reaction to the desecration of the Hyde Park Memorial Garden and that of the antisemitic attack on the Dollis Hill monument. These mnemonic sites are contested terrains where different ideologies and different conceptions of history are played out. I would suggest that the conception of the mnemonic site in general is a prime factor in explaining the different reactions to its desecration. There is evidence to suggest that the Dollis Hill monument is seen by the far Right as a Jewish memorial to the victims of the Holocaust. In 1991 the memorial was badly damaged and daubed with paint that spelt out the memorial as a Jewish space by inscribing it with swastikas and slogans such as 'Jew scum'.

However, the contradictory construction of the monument by a coalition of anti-Fascists as an inclusive space of memory allowed a more aggressive response to the attack. A counter ritual was organised to reclaim the site for anti-Fascist, rather than Jewish, memory. Prominent local MPs Ken Livingstone (Brent East, 1987-) and Paul Boateng (Brent South, 1987-) as well as the President of the Board of Deputies took part in a high profile march concluding

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[50] Rashi is an acronym for Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac, a Biblical scholar from the eleventh century who interpreted the Babylonian Talmud (Barnavi 1992, 63). See JC 26/8/83 p1 'Memorial Desecrated'. The editorial of the Jewish Chronicle significantly refers to the desecration of Edmonton Cemetery the previous week rather than the Holocaust memorial.

with an "inter-denominational service which was organised by Brent Council and AJEX". [51]

The chair of AJEX Sydney Davis said that "mindless louts and thugs have vandalised this memorial in an attempt to impart a political message. By gathering today, we have made a step forward". [52] Therefore the people who attended the memorial recognised it as a contested terrain. At that point in time, the graffiti became part of the monument, and literally inscribed it with a set of new meanings, both concerned with the contested nature of the mnemonic site but also referencing contemporary British social relations. A painted swastika on the white wall directly above the third statue 'hope lost' draws a line from the Holocaust to London in the 1990s and signifies that the same racist ideologies did not end with the Holocaust. They are still prevalent in contemporary society, and should not be written off as history.

The difference in the attitude of the Board of Deputies when the Hyde Park Memorial was defaced is marked. The definition of the Hyde Park Memorial as a 'Jewish space' sets it within the framework of the response to antisemitism and antisemitic attacks that many within the Jewish communal elite wish to pursue. This is by no means a monolithic response (see chapter three) although the challenge to Janner by Heseltine when the former went to ask for a site for a Holocaust Memorial is indicative of this tendency. When asked what the strategy would be if the memorial were damaged or defaced in any way, Janner replied that the response would be, as it had always been, to make good the damage and to keep quiet.

This is a typical response from the Establishment of Anglo-Jewry. The strategy of the Board of Deputies then and now is to try and minimise the impact of antisemitic attacks. For example, in 1990 information about tombstone desecration in North London was withheld from the public for fear of

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[51] JC 6/9/91 for full report of service.

provoking copycat attacks. As Cooper and Morrison have suggested, "since such incidents have been a feature of British society on and off for the past two hundred years, it would have seemed that the cat was already out of the bag" (1991, 100). They go on to state that the Board were presented with prior knowledge of the attacks which were part of an international campaign. The responses of the French Jewish Representative committee (*Conseil Representatif des Juifs de France*) are insightful as they show a completely different strategy for dealing with such a situation. They called immediately for a public demonstration to protest against the attacks on Jewish graves and were joined by two hundred thousand people, including the then President Francois Mitterrand in 1990. Again, as mentioned elsewhere in this thesis, the Hyde Park Memorial was daubed with paint in September 1996. No mention of this incident appeared in the JC.

The defining of the Hyde Park Memorial Garden as a space of Jewish memory places it within the framework of the Board of Deputies' response to antisemitism. The strategy that the Anglo-Jewish elite have employed when living in the UK is one of attention avoidance *as Jewish people*, therefore no fuss will be made if this space is desecrated in any way. If the space is defaced then the defensive mechanisms that are employed are making that particular space as unobtrusive as possible. This may mean giving little publicity to the memorial or the events that use it as a focal point for ritual, or by hiding them away in places that are less well known or less widely visited, or in more and more private Jewish spaces. The logical extension to this is to have them in synagogues where they are well protected and can remain unknown to the non-Jewish community.

Dissatisfaction with the Hyde Park Memorial Garden also took the form of dissatisfaction with the organisation of the service. A Holocaust survivor wrote

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[52] Ibid.

to the Board of Deputies to complain about having been excluded from the ceremony even after having been invited.

> I and many other with good cause to remember the Holocaust were forced to stand outside while Board members and their wives were given pride of place...I find it insulting to be barred from such a ceremony by coreligionists in this country. [53]

Also hinting at another form of hiding, another survivor complained about the inaccessibility of the memorial for people who could not walk to the memorial as there was not a car park within walking distance. [54]

A Hidden Monument.

However, the most telling reference to the memorial dedication ceremony comes from someone who had been invited to attend the dedication ceremony, but was unable to locate the ceremony in Hyde Park that day.

> I received an invitation...to attend the dedication of the Holocaust Memorial Garden. I searched for 30 minutes opposite Albert Gate, and Rotten Row which was the total information given, without any success whatsoever in finding the site, and then gave up. There were dozens like me, similarly searching. [55]

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[53] Wineman to the JC 8/7/83 Letters p16

[54] Myer to the JC 8/7/83 Letter p16

[55] See Ruben to Pinner 28/6/83, YVC(UK) archives. Pinner's reply expressed his sorrow that Mr. Ruben had missed "the impressive ceremony of dedication". Janner attempted to reconcile the two committees after the dedication ceremony. In a letter to Simon Reiss, the chair of the YVC he acknowledge that the YVC "was not initially very taken with the Memorial project - but I hope that nevertheless you and your colleagues will take pride in the way it eventually evolved". Janner to Reiss 1/7/83 YV (UK) archives.

The logical conclusion to a memorial that is designed to blend into the landscape is that it should not be identifiable as itself. In other words the construction of the Hyde Park Holocaust Memorial Garden in terms of it material location and the discourses articulated by Janner, Morris and others at the time of its dedication, point to the conclusion that the memorial is *meant not to be prominent.*

This metaphor of blending was reused twelve years later by a survivor of the Holocaust commenting on the spate of television and radio programmes that occurred during the commemorations of the 50th anniversary of the liberation of the Nazi camps.

> Am I alone in pleading for the survivors who have mostly had to live without help, yet have made a life for themselves, to be left alone. It takes time to develop a 'normal' life to *blend* into a society that has little real understanding of what being a Holocaust Survivor means, to become a 'useful' member of that society. (Emphasis added). [56]

She thought that these programmes would "re-open old wounds for the likes of myself, and perhaps, effect our children, who should be spared". The quotation displays clearly that the metaphor of blending situates the Holocaust memorial within the dominant world-view of Anglo-Jewry. As far back as 1882 a Manchester Liberal M.P., John Slagg, reiterated the relationship between Anglo-Jewry and wider British society with a "classical re-statement of the interdependence of a liberal philosophy of tolerance and a socially virtuous Jewry".

> In every country they were allowed the full rights and privileges of citizenship they conformed to the laws of that country: they *blended* with

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[56] Edith Brown-Jacobowitz to JC 3/2/95.

> its institutions and they constitutes an element in their societies of the finest and most useful description.
> (Quoted in Williams 1985, 75. Emphasis added).

This memorial strategy is the almost complete opposite of that adopted by a number of artists in Germany, where many memorial designer seek to confront the viewer with their stark and imposing memorials. This is in part due to a need to reflect the memory of the German people as 'perpetrators,' whereby the usual form of heroic sculpture is deemed inappropriate to memorialise the 'crime.' The resultant 'anti-monuments' are a break with memorial tradition, designed both to reference loss as well as to continue discussion over the most appropriate way to memorialise the Holocaust, which Young sees as positive in that it helps keep the memory of the Holocaust alive and in the public domain (Young 1993). The Vietnam Memorial in Washington achieves the same thing. It is 'scar' on the landscape that will never be healed. In the case of the Hyde Park memorial, it is designed explicitly to deflect such discussion, merging into the English landscape without so much as a ripple.

At certain times of the year, however, the memorial garden *is* the focus of attention and activity. For example, during the annual Yom Ha'shoah services held there from 1984 until 1996, the monument becomes 'visible' and the 'blending' which I have identified is negated by the sights and sounds of often large crowds congregated to take part in a service of remembrance. One of the ways in which meaning is generated and communicated at mnemonic sites is through ritual. As Turner has suggested "cultures are most fully expressed in and made conscious of themselves in their rituals and theatrical performances" (Quoted in Schechner and Appeal 1990, 1). The next section will therefore examine the Yom Ha'shoah services held at the Hyde Park Memorial Garden site in 1995 and 1996 and at Logan Hall in 1997, exploring the ways in which discourses of Jewish identity and Holocaust memory were articulated during the ritual.

Ritual and the Hyde Park Holocaust Memorial Garden.

Although space for a commemorative service was one of the Janner's requirements for the original Whitehall memorial, [57] there seems to have been little discussion as to what form the service should take. It was not until six months after the dedication ceremony that the YVC called for a unified meeting. [58] The first annual service was held on the 29th April 1984.

The service, organised by the YVC of the Board of Deputies, is held on the Sunday closest to the 27th Nissan in the Jewish calendar, which usually falls in late April or early May depending on the lunar cycle. Young has argued that, save narrative, nothing "is more endemic to Jewish tradition than the day of remembrance". Such an annual event, marked by the calendar, is naturalised by its symbolic relationship with the seasons, a cyclical relationship which seems part of a natural order rather than as a human construction. For the Jewish people time, represented in the calendar, is "an insuperable master plan by which Jewish lives are lived, past history remembered and understood". For an event accepted within the calendar "the meanings engendered in memory seem ordained by nothing less than time itself" (Young 1993, 263).

This would explain the importance placed by those organising or involved with the Yom Ha'shoah service on obtaining such a recurrent date in the calendar of Anglo-Jewry. For example, the late Rabbi Hugo Gryn suggested that there are three significant Jewish memorials to the Holocaust: the calendar, the Prayer Book and the school text book. The most important of these he considered to be the establishment of a day of memory that will enter the Jewish calendar. It was vitally important that, in his words, "Yom Ha'shoah takes" and

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[57] Janner, personal communication, 23/11/95

[58] Helfgott, YVC(UK) minutes, 10/1/84, and supported by the secretary of the Board of Deputies, Hayim Pinner. Indicative of the then Chief Rabbi's attitude towards Holocaust commemoration, at the next YVC(UK) meeting it was made known that whilst he agreed to attend the service planned for that April, he would not lead the prayers, which would be done by Rev. Dr. Isaac Levy. YVC(UK) minutes, 8/2/84.

> the most important monument would be that if the date can become a significant date for future Jews, as Yom Ha'shoah...a Jewish date, in the *Jewish* calendar. I do not expect Churches to say Kaddish for the victims of the Shoah, but I would expect Jews to do that. (His emphasis).[59]

The close relationship between time and narrative in the Jewish religion, echoed in the Christian religion, where certain portions of Biblical texts are read in church at prescribed times of the year, mean that time itself becomes part of the narrative and hence remembered events also gain meaning due to their relationships with other dates in the calendar. Yom Ha'shoah is given meaning by its relationship with a number of other dates, both secular and religious, in the Jewish calendar such as Peshac (Passover), the date of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, Yom Hatzma'ut (Independence Day) and Yom Hazikkaron (the day of remembrance for those that died in defence of the State of Israel).

The decision to institute Yom Hazikkaron on Iyar 4 , therefore falling one day before Yom Hatzma'ut, constructs a narrative of suffering and redemption; the dead of the War of Independence are redeemed by that very independence. Young argues that the choice of a date for Yom Ha'shoah which falls in between Peshac - the deliverance of the Jews from slavery in Egypt - and the commemoration of the War of Independence, situates the Holocaust within this statist narrative. Thus,

> by choosing the Twenty-seventh of Nissan...the committee [set up by the Israeli government] dramatically emplotted the entire story of Israel's national rebirth, drawing on a potent combination of religious and national mythologies....Beginning on Passover (also the day of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising), continuing through Yom Ha'shoah, and

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[59] Rabbi Hugo Gryn, personal communication (5/2/96). Testifying to the contentious and problematic nature of such issues, Rabbi Gryn also remembered that he chaired a committee of the Reform Rabbinate who were mandated to come up with a suitable date for Holocaust Memorial Day. With some humour he recalled how he and his three colleagues came up with five dates!

> ending in Yom Hatzma'ut, this period could be seen as commencing with God's deliverance of the Jews and concluding with the Jew's deliverance of themselves in Israel. (Young 1993, 269).

Rabbi Gryn ultimately saw the choice of date for the service as problematic on a number of levels. From a pedagogic point of view, Yom Ha'shoah, as mentioned above, falls very soon after Passover in addition to the fact that many schools are still on holiday. The "crowding" in the calendar given its proximity to Yom Hatzma'ut, another date struggling to gain acceptance within Anglo-Jewry, is also seen as a problem. Although Rabbi Gryn did not expand on this statement, his reference to "crowding" could be an indication that he too was uncomfortable with the ideological inference that can be drawn by the juxtaposition of these two dates.

The choice of the same date for Anglo-Jewry to commemorate the Holocaust therefore generates meaning because of its relationship to Israeli (Jewish) statist ideology, but subtle differences mark the date of the service as a particularly 'English' affair. The ideological message is still present within this narrative: Yom Hatzma'ut is celebrated widely in the UK (perhaps more vigorously than Yom Ha'shoah itself). [60] However, in Israel, the commemoration of the Shoah is held on the 27th Nissan every year, no matter what day of the week it falls. A siren heralds a two minute silence during which the traffic on the road is stopped, flags are flown at half mast and radio and television programmes and places of amusement are "in keeping with the spirit of the day" (Law for the Day of Remembrance of Holocaust and Heroism, quoted in Young 1993, 271). In Britain, the day of commemoration is moved to the Sunday after the 27th

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[60] See adverts for Yom Haztma'ut celebration yearly in the JC. This may be a factor of the different perceptions of the two days, i.e. Independence Day is a celebration, a mentioned earlier, tinged with the pride of self-deliverance, an opportunity for being proud of one's association with the State of Israel. Conversely, the Holocaust could be seen as a mark of shame, a corollary of both the maxim of "why be Jewish if the Holocaust is a central experience of being Jewish. For example, survivors of the Holocaust who emigrated to Israel after the Second World War were looked down upon by the majority of Jewish-Israeli society, who congratulated themselves at having left Europe before the Holocaust.

Nissan, in part following the tradition set by Remembrance Sunday services, but also because some Jews refuse to travel on Shabbat (the Jewish Sabbath).

Playing the numbers game: II.

The main preoccupation for those organising the service has been the number of people attending. Although it was hoped that the service would attract 10,000 people to Hyde Park to remember Holocaust victims, "disappointment" or "regret" at the lack of people turning up for the service has been expressed on a number of separate occasions. In 1986, the attendance was deemed so poor by the YVC that it was thought that unless more people could be attracted to the service it would be threatened with discontinuation.

> It is important that at least once a year on Yom Ha'shoah or a date nearest to it, a large crowd of thousands of people should be attracted to this place with the leading members of the Jewish community participating in this event. Otherwise the Memorial Gardens will have been consigned to oblivion and the original purpose for its erection lost on the community and the country.

Again,

> The 1986 commemorations had faced an extremely poor attendance. We cannot afford another fiasco like this as this is likely to condemn the memorial stone to oblivion. [61]

Such sentiments have also been expressed in the public domain on a number of occasions. Ten years later, comments centred on the need for a higher profile

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[61] For the call for 10,000 people at the service see Helfgott, YVC (UK) minutes 27/10/86,. However, it was thought by another member of the committee that this would cause "logistical

for the service and for synagogues to take a stronger lead in publicising Yom Ha'shoah. The attitude of Anglo-Jewry with respect to Holocaust memorial services was also questioned.

> On Sunday...members of the Jewish community met in Hyde Park to commemorate the six million victims of the Holocaust. To demonstrate how much we still care and remember, we were represented by a mere 500 people. Is Anglo-Jewry so apathetic that it could not do better than this? If we cannot show our children that we care 51 years on, will *they* care 51 years from now? (Emphasis in original.). [62]

On a number of occasions a sizeable crowd has congregated at the memorial garden for the Yom Ha'shoah service. After a concerted effort in "rallying the whole community" two to three thousand people attended the service in 1987 and the committee deemed this "appropriate and moving".[63]

A further occasion when a sizeable crowd had gathered and one which highlights the importance of the relationship between Holocaust memory and both British war memory and recurrent events was in 1993 which was the 50th Anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. This important anniversary, combined with good weather saw two thousand people gather for the ceremony, a four-fold increase on the previous year. The JC reported that

> the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto (sic) gave the occasion an added poignance while the rise of neo-Nazis in Europe lent it a special relevance. [64]

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problems". The appeal for a crowd in five figures was repeated by Helfgott at the following committee meeting of 3/12/86. YVC (UK) minutes, 19/5/86 and 3/9/86.

[62] See Wall and also Godfrey to the JC 3/5/96.

[63] YVC (UK) minutes 1/4/87 and 21/5/87.

[64] JC 23/4/93.

Apart from the notable occasions mentioned above, the consistent lack of a size of crowd considered by the organisers appropriate to the occasion, is perhaps explained by the way that the rituals that surround the monument will be defined by the location of the memorial itself. It is therefore also important to realise the place of the Hyde Park Memorial Service within the population geography of the Anglo-Jewish community. Although supposedly a national event, many Jewish people both within London itself and in the regional communities will be unable to attend due to the logistics of travelling large distances. As Ben Helfgott maintained

> the Hyde Park thing is the one, it's public, but if you live in Manchester or Brighton it's just so [difficult to get to]...or even if you live in South London. [65]

A additional factor may be the confusion over the role of the site in Holocaust memory. In 1986 debates were still ongoing over the nature of the memorial space. The YVC were reminded that the service, still organised by the HMC, was

> never envisaged to attract a large crowd as the main emphasis was placed on the event at the Savoy Theatre which took place an hour later and where the attendance was reasonably good. [66]

A number of strategies were advanced to try and attract a greater number to the service. Increased advertising of the ceremony in both the Jewish and non-Jewish press were advocated, as well as a large screen so that people could see more of what is going on. [67] A number of references have also appeared as to the potential audience. The YVC have been keen to attract more non-Jewish

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[65] Ben Helfgott, personal communication (29/8/95).

[66] YVC (UK) minutes 19/5/86. For references to concern over the number of those attending the service see also minutes of 18/5/88, 5/6/89, 17/5/90, 25/4/91, 21/5/92, and see JC 16/4/1993 for comments on "the paucity of numbers attending" in recent years.

[67] YVC (UK) minutes, 29/10/90. As of the present, this suggestion has not been implemented.

people to the service but I would argue that both the representation of the service and the discursive framework of Jewish specificity excludes non-Jews.

Yom Ha'shoah in Hyde Park, 1995.

The first year in which I attended the Yom Ha'shoah service in Hyde Park was 1995 and a number of themes have been identified which illustrate the complex relationship between memory of the Holocaust and a number of factors, including: Anglo-Jewish identity, British war memory and the state of Israel.

In all three years the format of the service was similar with a number of speeches by dignitaries such as the Chief Rabbi, Dr. Jonathan Sacks, the President of the Board of Deputies, Eldred Tabachnik QC, and the Israeli Ambassador, His Excellency Moshe Raviv. These were interspersed with Jewish liturgical music led by a cantor and the recitation of memorial prayers such as *Kaddish* (the Jewish memorial prayer for the dead). In 1995 the service ended with the crowd singing the *Hatikvah*, the Israeli National Anthem.

The most important theme that comes out of the service, I would argue, is that the representation of the particularity of the Jewish experience of the Holocaust is played out within this memorial space. The necessity of protecting the centrality of the Jewish Holocaust from being universalised is one of the reasons why the memorial service is a strongly classified space (for a discussion of the classification and framing of space see Sibley 1992). In both 1995 and 1996 the space was strongly framed both physically and symbolically. The garden is ringed on memorial day by metal barriers approximately four feet high and there is heavy security with militaristic gatekeepers securing the boundaries (see plate 12). This is perhaps unsurprisingly given the unpopularity of the Middle East Peace process and then its stagnation after the assassination of Yitzak Rabin by a fellow Jew, combined with periodic attacks of Jewish property during 1995-97. There is not a definite included/excluded division

however as people were outside looking in, effectively taking part in the service without being within the bounded space and this may be a form of pragmatism whereby people gain a better view of the actual ceremony.

The discourses that can be articulated within the memorial service are also tightly defined as referenced by the commemorative service programme which is "in memory of the *6 million*" (emphasis added) and therefore focuses on the Jewish victims of the Holocaust rather than widening the definition of the victims of the Holocaust to include others such as the gypsies, mentally and physically handicapped, homosexuals, communists, and Polish and Russian nationals who were also murdered. These other victims were rarely mentioned in the speeches given at the service.

Plate 12: Yom Ha'shoah in Hyde Park, 1996.

The specificity of the Jewish experience during the Holocaust is reinforced by the service being firmly located within Jewish ritual. The 'Jewishness' of the service is, for Rabbi Gryn, a way of cementing the Holocaust in the minds of Anglo-Jewry, an admission that the memory of the Holocaust is still at a formative time in the consciousness of the majority of Jewish people in Britain.

> I want to do whatever is possible to have Yom Ha'shoah enter Jewish consciousness, via the calendar, via the prayer book, via demonstration that kind of public thing...while there is still time for it. [68]

The services in all three years did however contain references to the contemporary socio-cultural landscape of both Britain and the rest of Europe, possibly in an attempt to reassert the relevancy of the Holocaust to today's world. This was highlighted in 1993 when the Chief Rabbi, Dr. Jonathan Sacks suggested that:

> "Killing, torture, racial wars and ethnic cleansing are not only once-only occurrences"....It was "because the world wanted to forget the Holocaust [that]...racial wars and ethnic cleansing are happening today in Bosnia".

In addition, references were also included to inter alia the film 'Schindler's List' (1994), Bosnia (1995), the attitude of the Swiss towards releasing Nazi gold plundered from Holocaust victims (1996) or the murder of school children at Dunblane (1996 and 1997).

Yom Ha'shoah in Hyde Park, 1996

The most important development in 1996 was the inclusion of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (WGU) within the memorial framework of the

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[68] Rabbi Hugo Gryn, personal communication (5/2/96).

commemoration. The programme of the service announced that it was to remember "the 6 million who perished in the Shoah together with a commemoration of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising". The Polish Jewish ex-Servicemen's Organisation (PJEX) joined the YVC in jointly organising the service. A number of reasons, both practical and symbolic, were given for the their inclusion. PJEX had been holding an event to commemorate the WGU for some time and it was thought by the some members of the YVC that the experience that PJEX had gained in organising such commemorative events in the past would be useful in organising the Hyde Park service.

On a symbolic level, the WGU is a crucial event in the memory of the Holocaust as it has been represented as an episode of resistance where the Jews did not go 'like sheep to the slaughter' and therefore is an event around which a positive self-image can be constructed. As Young argues with reference to the WGU monument in Warsaw (and its copy at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem), the uprising occupies an important place in Holocaust memory as it

> recalls the Jews' ultimate triumph over the Nazis in their survival and, in having risen at all, the Jews' victory over their own past responses to persecution.
> (Young 1993, 182).

Also included within the 1996 service were the Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen and Women (AJEX). The reason given for their inclusion was that some members of AJEX were among the armies that liberated the concentration camps in 1945. The event, therefore, was represented as "in bringing together the whole community symbolis[ing] the sombre unity that the Shoah will always produce". [69]

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[69] Chief Rabbi Sacks, Yom Ha'shoah 1996.

The main difference in the structure of the service was the parading of military standards by PJEX and AJEX and the service was given a further military feel by the playing of the 'Last Post' by a bugler from the Jewish Lad's Brigade. This also had the effect of situating the service within a more 'knowable' ritual framework for the non-Jewish participant (see plate 13). The 'Last Post' is played at Remembrance Day Services throughout the country and is an important signal and one which the majority of people know. More importantly, the participant knows how to act and which emotional response is being asked of them.

Plate 13: Coming Together in Sombre Unity.
Yom Ha'shoah in Hyde Park 1996.

Yom Ha'shoah in Logan Hall, 1997.

The service held on Sunday 4th May 1997 displayed a marked difference to the preceding years. Firstly, and most noticeably, the venue had changed from the Holocaust Memorial Garden in Hyde Park to an in-door venue - Logan Hall (University of London). The discourses present within the ceremony were also different, being a development on previous years in that there was a stronger articulation of Jewish identity.

The theme of the 'hiding' of mnemonic sites in 'out-of-the-way-places' continued. If the Hyde Park Memorial Garden can be described as unobtrusive - a memorial which was designed to not disturb or disrupt the symbolic landscape of British national identity or Anglo-Jewry - then the ceremony in Logan Hall was equally 'hidden', this time in a space which I believe was more tightly framed as 'Jewish'. For example the service, and more importantly the change of venue, was not announced in JC until the Friday 2nd May; two days before the ceremony. As the ceremony is not announced anywhere else, only members of the non-Jewish community who take the JC would have found out about the change in location.

The change in the emphasis of the service was also signalled by the gatekeepers who 'policed' the boundaries of the memorial space much more exclusively than in previous years. I was questioned a number of times by a number of different security guards as to my reasons for going to the service and I found this response rather unwelcoming. This attitude was a change from the previous years in which I had undertaken ethnographic research on the ceremony. Although present, security at the Hyde Park Yom Ha'shoah service was less intense. The guards were more friendly despite checking the bags of most who entered the enclosed ceremonial space. A number of people both in 1995 and 1996 had been handing out leaflets in Hyde Park on the morning of

the service, inviting people to be part of the memorial service. In addition, the posters advertising the service carried the message 'join us' prominently.

At the different venue also I also perceived a change in the articulation of Anglo-Jewish identity. As in previous years much of the service was made up from the Jewish liturgy, such as the *Kaddish* and the hymn *Adon Olam*. However in 1997, in a departure from the previous years, these were written in Hebrew script as well as their English equivalent. In addition, whereas in the 1996 service booklet, the words to *Adon Olam* were prefaced by the explanation that it was "a hymn to the eternal Lord, written in 11th century Spain and is amongst the most well known in Jewish liturgy", the 1997 edition contained no such explanation. The programme notes in 1995 and 1996 also gave a brief description of the people taking part in the service, for example "Rabbi Dr Jonathan Sack - Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregation of the Commonwealth" and "Rev Stephen Robins - Cantor of Edgware United Synagogue and internationally renowned recording artist of Jewish cantorial music". Again, this was not repeated in the 1997 booklet. The explanation is that the people who were organising the service were hoping to attract non-Jews to the service in 1995 and 1996 when it was in Hyde Park. There would be no reason to give an explanation as to the origin of *Adon Olam* and especially that it is *"amongst the most well known in Jewish liturgy"* if the people there were Jews themselves. In 1997 the organisers were not expecting any non-Jews and so the notes of the service booklet are aimed at Jewish people, familiar with Jewish liturgy and Jewish Holocaust memorial ritual.

In addition unlike 1996, the British National anthem was not played after the 'Jewish anthem' the Hatikvah. This is an interesting development as Ben Helfgott, the chair of the YVC, had been campaigning for a number of years for the National Anthem of the UK to be included within the memorial service in Hyde Park. With the historical accusation levelled on the Anglo-Jewish community that they were Jews first and British second, he saw in the playing

of both anthems a balance between Jewish and British identity. [70] The omission of the Nation Anthem of the UK in 1997 could again point to a greater confidence in articulating a Jewish identity within Logan Hall.

The changing ideological messages that could be read from the service may be in part due to its changed venue. The private space of Logan Hall was more easily controlled than the public display at Hyde Park and hence the identities that could be articulated are different. Hyde Park is a site of public display: the service is at all times observed by passers-by and police. The identities of Anglo-Jewry are therefore constrained by the need to fit in with the dominant themes of Anglo-Jewish 'world view': that of being 'more English than the English' and of conflict avoidance. The more confident articulation of Jewish identity in Logan Hall may be an example of the differences in the public and private expression of Anglo-Jewry's Jewish identity. In synagogues, where there has been a great proliferation of Holocaust memorials such as plaques and Torah scrolls, Jewish identity is not constrained by the need to fit in with the liberal assimilationist framework of British society. Within the private, controlled space of Logan Hall, as in a synagogue, the organisers could be articulate their Jewish identity with more confidence.

Conclusions: A Secret Garden.

In reviewing the campaign by the Board of Deputies for a Holocaust memorial in London in the late 1970s and early 1980s, this chapter had examined the ways in which the spatial construction of the memorial landscape structures, and is in turn structured by, the contestation between memory and identity. It has highlighted the way in which memory of the Holocaust is mediated through the complex set of relationships between Anglo-Jewry and wider British society but

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[70] Ben Helfgott, personal communication (28/8/95).

is also cross-cut with other discourses such as the relationship between Anglo-Jewry and Israel.

It has detailed the sometimes acrimonious debates over whether Britain needed a memorial to the victims of the Holocaust and, if so, where the appropriate site for such a memorial might be. The Whitehall project ultimately failed because of the inability of the Board of Deputies to maintain the fragile hegemony of the idea for a monument near the Cenotaph. The failure of this hegemony was precipitated by the way in which memories of the Holocaust conflicted with a number of discourses including the heroic and exclusive memory of Britain's role in the Second World War and the supposed dichotomy between the perception of 'Christian' forgiving and forgetting .as opposed to 'Jewish' memory and revenge.

For the Hyde Park project, the organisational structure was changed to a form in which such an hegemony was more easily reproduced: the small, and exclusively Anglo-Jewish Holocaust Memorial Committee who all had the same idea about how the Holocaust should be memorialised.

This chapter has also argued that the rituals that use the public Holocaust monuments in Britain as their focus are crucially important in understanding the way in which the particular mnemonic site is used and understood. The Yom Ha'shoah service, held on the Sunday nearest to the 27th Nissan, locates the Holocaust within the statist ideology suffering and redemption that Young (1994) and Segev (1993) have identified with respect to Israel.

An investigation in the history of the service also reveals the way in which various key individuals within the Jewish community have battled to ensure that the Holocaust is embedded within the ritual framework of Anglo-Jewry. This could be a factor in the change of location of the service. Whilst in the open air of Hyde Park, small crowds could be expected on years when the

weather was bad. In addition the lack of seating, itself a product of the need to keep the monument unobtrusive, means that some people may be put off by the need to stand for an hour or more. More people attended the service in 1997 in the dry and comfortable surroundings of Logan Hall, and there are no plans at the present time to return the Yom Ha'shoah service to Hyde Park.

The rituals that surround the monument also have important implication for the people who will attend. The exclusive nature of the Board of Deputies' Yom Ha'shoah service, especially in 1997, alienates non-Jews from attending and further reinforces the particularity of the Jewish experience of the Holocaust. The reinforcement of the Jewish particularity of the Holocaust is enabled by the ambiguity that lies at the heart of the Holocaust Memorial Garden. The lack of a number of victims on the monument leaves it open to interpretation and reinterpretation through the ritual that use it as its focus. The Yom Ha'shoah ceremony, organised by Jewish organisations, reproduces the monument as an exclusive space of Jewish memory and mourning. With the move of the service to the more easily controlled space of Logan Hall, the monument, already unobtrusive, could in time become unused and forgotten.

The material and symbolic construction of the Hyde Park Holocaust Memorial Garden is also a product of the way that memory of the Holocaust is constrained by Anglo-Jewish identity and the histories of British involvement in the Second World War. The monument is constructed as a private space of Jewish memory which is effectively hidden from the view of the (non-Jewish) passer by. What would have been a conspicuous monument in a central site of British war memory, near the Cenotaph, became an unobtrusive and marginal monument in Hyde Park. The site only becomes distinct at certain points in the year when the garden is the focus of ritual. The result has been a memorial that has indeed, as Janner and Morris argued, 'blended' into the landscape and points to the ontological framework of Anglo-Jewry as much as it does the Holocaust.

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Representations of the Holocaust in Jewish Museums.

On the 4th July 1997 it was announced in the JC that Bill Williams, Life President and a trustee of the Manchester Jewish Museum (MJM), had resigned. Williams' resignation, along with that of fellow trustee David Arnold, came as a shock to the officials of the MJM who were described as "stunned" by the decision. Although there was no official reason given for the resignations, it was thought that their decision was linked to the failure of trustees and officials at the museum to give their full support to the planned Holocaust centre with which both Williams and Arnold were heavily involved. [1]

This chapter will examine the representation of the Holocaust within Anglo-Jewish museums. It will primarily focus on the campaign for a Holocaust gallery at the MJM and argue that the failure of the development was inevitable, given the historical identification of the Manchester Jewish community with Zionism and the community's attitude to its physical heritage. It will also refer, where appropriate, to the Jewish Museum in London. It will show how representation is mediated and meanings generated by the relationship between a mnemonic site and the surrounding urban fabric. The narrative of the Holocaust that is displayed will be a function of the complex relationships between a number of factors including: their site, the local community, funding possibilities and the perceived audience of the museum.

In 1995, the Manchester Jewish Museum announced plans for a major expansion. An extension was planned to the building which would focus on the Holocaust, together with a wider history of the Jewish people in Europe and the rest of the world. The museum, built within the former Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue on Cheetham Hill Road in Manchester (see fig. 4), is an example of the way that the Holocaust has become embroiled within a variety of differing discourses on national, religious and class identity and of the way that the landscape may be disrupted by connections and disconnections with various nodes of memory.

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[1] JC 4/7/97. 'Bill Williams leaves the Jewish museum'.

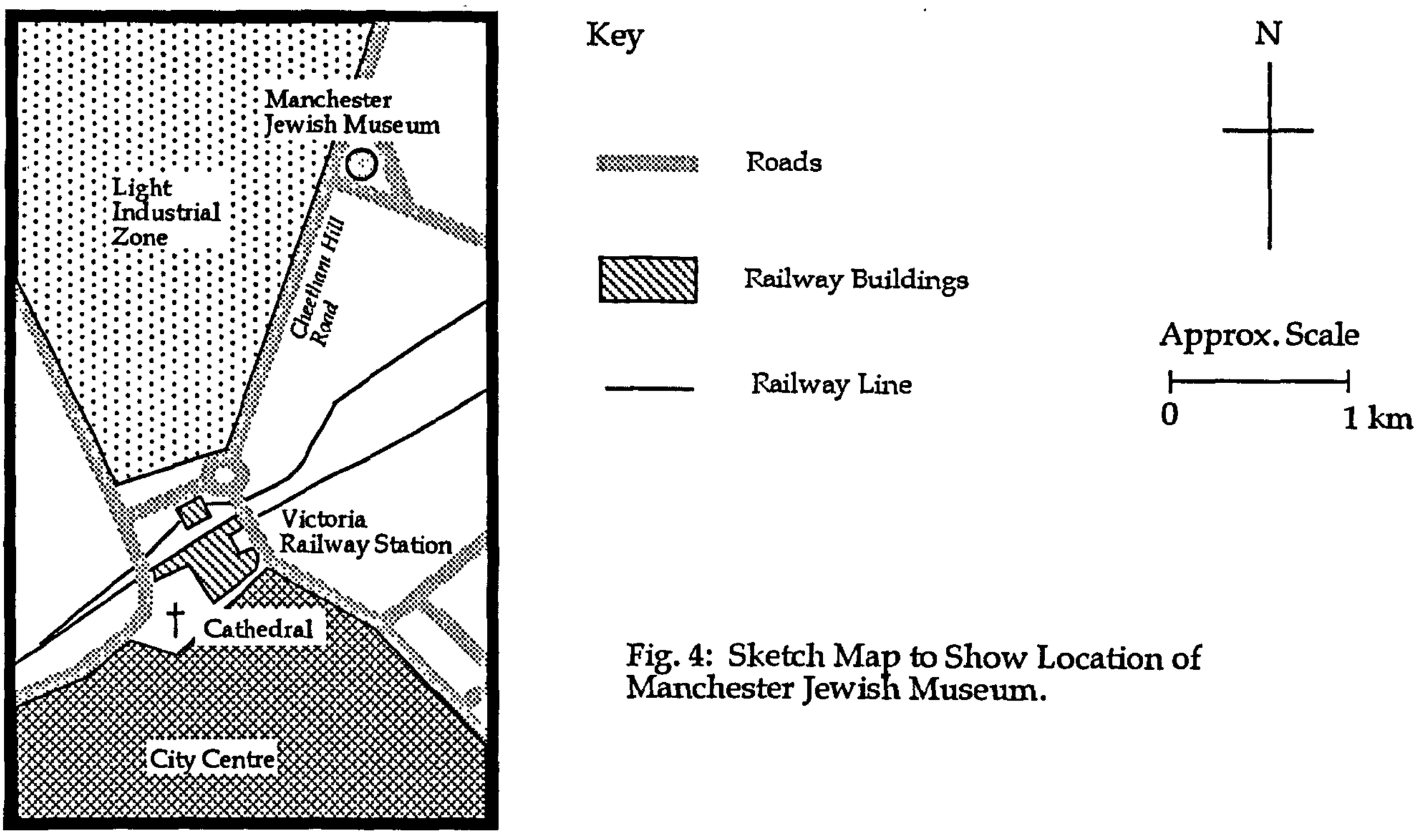

Fig. 4: Sketch Map to Show Location of Manchester Jewish Museum.

Again, as will be seen with the proposed Imperial War Museum Holocaust gallery (chapter seven), the discussion of the Manchester development is problematic as, by the time of Williams' resignation, the final style and content of the museum had yet to be determined. This chapter will therefore examine the development of the idea of the proposed Holocaust extension at the Manchester Jewish Museum and the many ways in which the landscape of memory of Manchester's Jews intersects with the memorial landscape of the Holocaust.

The Manchester Jewish Museum: Historical Background.

To understand the proposed Holocaust extension to the Manchester Jewish museum, it is necessary to begin by taking a longer view of the historical context of the museum's development as a whole. The history of Manchester Jewry is a long and complicated one (detailed in Williams, 1976), and it is important to understand the development of the museum within the socio-cultural position of the Anglo-Jewish Establishment during the last 150 years. Cesarani has suggested that "history [was] part of the weaponry deployed by

English Jews in the struggle against exclusionary tendencies in English culture and politics" (1992a, 30). History was used as part of the process of Anglicisation of the new immigrants from Eastern Europe in the latter half on the nineteenth century, who appeared foreign and alien to the resident Jewish community and wider British Society. The fear amongst the Anglo-Jewish Elite was that these new immigrants would destroy the hard fought struggle for acceptance in British society and lead to a resurgence of antisemitism. The Anglo-Jewish historians of the following years, most notably Cecil Roth, collaborated with this ethos, writing the history of the Jewish community as a defence against antisemitism and accusations of 'foreigness'. Written out of this official history was anything considered problematic, messy or any representation of the Jewish community that did not fit the ideal notion of the English gentry or bourgeoisie that the Jewish Establishment had of themselves (Williams 1992, 139).

It could be argued that more recent events, such as the Holocaust and the struggle for Palestine both during and after the Second World War, kept Jewish historians from articulating the complexity and diversity of Jewish life for fear of arousing antisemitism at home. It was felt that any histories that represented the Anglo-Jewish population as anything other than an integral and unproblematic part of British society whilst Jews in Palestine were in armed resistance against the British would jeopardise the long, hard fought struggle for acceptance. As Cesarani has noted,

> an unwritten code evolved that directed researchers away from anything that was unpleasant, tainted with criminality, or discordant with the dominant political trends of the time. The construction of the Anglo-Jewish past, its heritage, was to stress the rootedness of Jews in English society and their positive contribution to politics, culture and the economy.
> (Cesarani 1992a, 36).

The vilification of Israel in the press after the Yom Kippur war in 1973 and to a larger extent after the invasion of Lebanon and the massacres in Sabra and Shatilla helped reinforce such a code. Kushner (1994) suggested that the British State colluded with the insistence on presenting an Anglicised Jewry as part of a policy of assimilation of perceived minorities (see also chapter one for a discussion of the assimilationist argument).

This 'whiggish' view of History is problematic in the representation and definition of heritage. In this construction heritage is seen as a linear progression from the arrival of new immigrants followed by their successful transformation from 'Eastern European' (i.e. 'Alien') to 'Englishmen' and women. Heritage does not exist in its own right and referred to "a time of foreign and inferior ways: habits which the community has given up and of which it does not wish to be reminded" (Williams 1992, 139). It is such an attitude that has led to what Williams elsewhere has called "communal apathy" on the part of the Manchester Jewish community with regard to historical heritage. [2]

The first attempt at saving the physical heritage of Manchester Jewry started in the late 1960s. Independently a businessman, a solicitor and a playwright came to the conclusion that something needed to be done to preserve what remained of the historical physical infrastructure of Jewish life in Manchester. Leonard Cohen, a Manchester businessman then living in Cyprus conceived the idea and simultaneously, a letter was published in the Jewish Telegraph by Walter Wolfson, a local solicitor, calling for support in exploring the local Jewish past. His call was answered by Hymie Gouldman, a Manchester playwright. In the summer of 1969 the 'Committee for the Publication of a History of Manchester Jewry' was formed. Between them they had little experience of writing history and little idea of how it should be done but they had a common aim in trying to save what was left of Manchester's Jewish heritage.

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[2] Williams 'Death of a Synagogue.' JC 28/9/79.

> What held them together was a largely sentimental but hugely stubborn refusal to allow Manchester's former Jewish Quarter and the institutional landmarks of an older Jewish Community to disappear without a trace. (Williams 1992, 129).

The Jewish influence on the landscape of this area of Manchester was marked. At the turn of the century there were twenty seven synagogues within a mile of the present museum (Kushner 1987, 203). By 1979, owing to a number of factors the physical and archival heritage of Manchester Jewry had been rapidly disappearing. A continual drift away from this part of the city, mainly northwards to the more fashionable suburbs such as Prestwich, was accentuated by more dramatic episodes of removal. The damage suffered by Manchester during the Second World War by aerial bombardment meant that a substantial proportion of the Jewish area of the city was rubble.

The slum clearances of the 1950s and 60s heralded a further decline in the population of Cheetham Hill: Jewish and non-Jewish. Indeed, when Williams wrote in 1992 about the changes that had occurred to the Cheetham Hill area there was just one working class Jewish family living in that area who had steadfastly refused to move. [3]

The northwards migration subsequently led to a decline in the attendance and subsequent closure of the synagogues in the Cheetham Hill area. Orthodox Jews are forbidden by religious law to drive on the Sabbath as part of the law forbidding work on the day of worship. As the Jewish population moved north, the distance from synagogue increased and soon these were out of walking distance from the new location. This factor led to the closure of many of the synagogues in this area. An interesting counterpoint to this in the Roman Catholic Church on Cheetham Hill Road that still functions as a place of

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[3] When I interviewed Mr. Williams in 1996, the family had just left.

worship even though there is no resident Catholic population nearby as there is no such prohibition on them driving to Church on a Sunday. [4]

Other communal heritage was lost during this period as "whole segments of local Jewish history were rendered irretrievable by the stroke of a spade" (Williams 1992, 131). In addition to the loss of the physical heritage, archival material was also lost. One particular instance of note is the loss of the archives of the Manchester Zionist Association which had occupied a house on the Cheetham Hill Road at the turn of the century. The archives of many Zionist bodies which had grown up in Manchester were destroyed or deteriorated through neglect. This area was central in the development of Zionism, including the Manchester School of Zionism under the direction of Chaim Weizmann who helped lobby for the Balfour declaration and the founding members of the Women's International Zionist Organisation (WIZO) so "what ended up on a municipal rubbish tip was a large part of the prehistory of the Jewish State" (ibid, 132). [5]

Williams himself was, and is, prominent as a central figure in the fight to save what remained of the heritage, both physical and archival, of Manchester Jewry. Indicative of the relationship between the Anglo-Jewish community and the past, it was left to a non-Jew, Williams, a founder member of Manchester Polytechnic's Jewish Studies Centre and a member of the Wolfson committee, to be the main driving force behind many of the attempts to collect and preserve parts of the Jewish past. He confesses himself surprised at the lack of interest in saving the communal heritage as he had imagined the Jewish community to be a group that had a strong sense of group history and whose rituals "were firmly rooted in a cherished past" (ibid., 136). This may, however, have been to misunderstand the way in which Jewish people have traditionally gone about

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[4] Ibid.

[5] A further indication of the lack of interest of the part of the Jewish communal institutions of Manchester is that, unlike their counterparts in Liverpool, they have no communal archivist. Williams believes that for the "major institutions [of the Manchester Jewish community] Jewish heritage has not that much meaning".

the memorialisation process. As Young suggests, the Jewish tradition is "bookish, iconoclastic" and the first memorials to the Holocaust were in the form of narrative; the *Yizkor Bikher* or memorial books which,

> remembered both the lives and destruction of European Jewish communities according to the most ancient of Jewish memorial media: words on paper.
> (Young 1993, 7)

This may, in part, explain the resistance on the part of many to saving the physical heritage of Jewish Manchester. However, the loss of archival material noted above would seem to suggest that a deeper antipathy lies behind this apathy.

The perilous state of the survival of the Jewish heritage of Manchester was shown when the Great Synagogue on Cheetham Hill Road came up for sale in 1979. After the congregation had vacated little effort was made to make the building vandal-proof and within ten days the building was beyond repair; many of the ornate furnishings being removed by local traders.

The crucial difference in the fates of the Great Synagogue and that of the Sephardic Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, (see plate 14) which closed in 1978 was that there was someone *inside* the organisational structure of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue who was concerned about preserving the building. Werner Mayer, who subsequently became the director of the Manchester Jewish Museum, was an official for the Spanish and Portuguese and was as enthusiastic about saving the synagogue as was Bill Williams. They decided that the best way to do this was by turning the synagogue into a museum dedicated to Manchester Jewry. With two others they formed the 'Jewish Heritage Committee', and in time this became the Manchester Jewish Museum Trust. It was the task of the committee to build up the momentum for

the project and this included funding. Williams' view of this process was of a slow and gradual build up with each brick bringing in more money as the project is gradually realised. Another indication of the communal apathy is that little of the money actually came from Jewish sources. The major source was either national funding bodies or various levels of government including Greater Manchester Council. [6]

Plate 14: The Manchester Jewish Museum, Cheetham Hill Road.

(Formerly the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue).

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[6] An interesting historical parallel can be drawn here between another attempt to create a Holocaust museum in this country. In the early 1980s following the success of the Auschwitz: Yesterday's Racism exhibition in Stepney, the Greater London Council were prepared to finance a permanent exhibition due to its immanent demise under the Conservative Government of the day. This project foundered, according to one of the proponents, due to the inactivity and reticence of the Jewish communal establishment in London. In the same way the reorganisation of local government in the Manchester area heralded the abolition of Greater Manchester Council who provided money for the project. Manchester City Council however provided little funding as Williams suggests that they were never convinced that the museum was a viable project and indeed antisemitism did not fit in with their concept of racism.

The unenthusiastic response of the *City* council was matched by that of some of the Jewish community in the words of one reporter, the Jewish community "needed a museum like it needed a ham sandwich".

> You ask Mr. Levi or Cohen in Hale or Whirefield, Allwoodley or Scarcroft, and he will very conveniently forget his back-to-back in Hightown, Strangeways, the Leylands or North Street....Not surprising then that the masses who have spent the past seven decades running away from their hard lives, without bathrooms, without shoes, without the education they later desired for their children - small wonder they are not waiting with bated breath for Mr. Williams to inspire the community to remember its past....To add insult to injury, not only do Mr. Williams and his communal supporters nourish dreams of a museum to the glory of a past most people want to forget, but they want that very community to put its hand in its pocket and, so to speak, inflict self-torture like some masochistic maniac. Sorry, but there was never a chance. [7]

When trying to understand this apparent lack of enthusiasm for communal heritage which fed directly into the debates over the need for a Holocaust museum it is necessary to understand the funding motivations of the Jewish community and the priorities for financial assistance for Manchester Jewry. The indication of the level of commitment to heritage by the communal organisation can be seen by the lack of financial assistance and the failure to set up further bodies for preservation of communal heritage. In a very strong Zionist community, Williams believes that Israel is the overwhelming funding priority followed by communal institutions and charitable causes with heritage as a very low priority.

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[7] Lucille Levi, 'Nostalgia or Pain?' Manchester Jewish Gazette 28/9/79, cited in Kushner 1987, 200

> If tomorrow I were to announce 'the Jewish museum is going to disappear the day after tomorrow' I'd be very lucky to raise enough money to save it, but if I was to say 'Israel's in danger' I'd get a million pounds in a week.
> (Williams 1996). [8]

Williams explains this by suggesting that Israel is seen as the future, as a source of dignity and strength in a world where antisemitism still flourishes. As well as not wishing to remember an un-English past, the Holocaust is also problematic, as we have seen, in the memory of Anglo-Jewry and for the Diaspora as a whole. The stubborn stereotype of the weak, passive Jew during the Holocaust, typified by the reverse of Rapoport's Warsaw Ghetto Memorial, is an additional reason to forget the Holocaust. [9]

As well as a project designed to heighten the awareness of Jewish heritage in Manchester and give, to the young especially, "a sense of its identity in a tangible form [so] a generation deeply rooted in its communal past can face the future with some confidence", [10] the museum also aimed to fulfil a role in the education of non-Jews intending to "counterbalance the external prejudice and misunderstanding with which the Jewish community is perennially faced". [11]

It is within this context that the Holocaust development needs to be seen. The next section will therefore detail the development of the idea of a Holocaust extension and also situate it within a wider context of Holocaust memorialisation, both national and international.

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[8] All quotations from Mr. Williams are from an interview between him and myself, 8/9/96, unless otherwise stated.
[9] For a representation of Rapoport's Warsaw Ghetto Monument as well as further discussion of its significance, see Young 1993, chapter 6, pp155-185.
[10] Werner Mayer, Jewish Heritage Committee, Manchester Jewish Gazette 5/10/79, cited in Kushner 1987, 205.
[11] Kushner 1987, 206

The Origins of the Development.

The idea of a Holocaust museum within the established Manchester Jewish museum developed in two places simultaneously. The 2nd Generation Group, a group of children of Holocaust survivors which originated in Manchester in the late 1980s, had the idea of developing the museum, as did the chair of the present Board of Trustees, Melvin Flacks.

Motivation for the project is not easy to isolate but it seems reasonable to assume that the reasons for the timing of the development of the idea are similar to those expressed in other projects at this time. There was a feeling that the survivors of the Holocaust were getting towards the end of their lives and would no longer be around to witness. This was coupled with a realisation from the survivors themselves that this was the case. Moreover, the survivors had more time to devote to the subject after having spent the last fifty years trying to rebuild their lives. There was also a feeling that the Fiftieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War was fast approaching and with the emphasis on the heroic narratives of Britain at war there was a need for the story of the Holocaust not to be lost.

A further motivation was undoubtedly the resurgence of neo-Nazism within Eastern Europe and the rise of far right political movements in France. The 'ethnic cleansing' in the former Yugoslavia led to feeling that nothing had been learned. Nor can more self interested motives on the part of those involved be discounted. As can be seen with the United States' Holocaust Memorial Museum this kind of development does attract large numbers of visitors. For a museum such as the MJM that has a very small independent visitor base (the majority of those visiting the museum being local school children) a Holocaust museum could be seen as a way of increasing the number of full entrance fee paying visitors in order to assure the survival of the museum at a time of financial stringency and ever decreasing funding from local government. For

example the planners report stated the need for increased staffing levels at the museum and suggested that

> attracting new resources through the Holocaust Centre development may be the only way the curatorial function can be re-energised. [12]

In the same way that Cecil Roth used Jewish history as a defence against antisemitism, the uses of heritage within a community are never innocent. It may be used to foster a sense of cohesion where none exists or to glorify the past as an aid to solidifying the present. Hewison has argued that the "past in the present" serves as a source of location and hence identity (Hewison 1989, 17). In some cases this can be a sanitised version of the past where the only stories that are told are those of the elite. However, the Manchester Jewish Museum grew up with strong influences from the History Workshop tradition of Raphael Samuel and EP Thompson so that local history in this case is the history of 'ordinary people' and their lives.

Central to this is the Oral History Project of Paul Thompson. This was an attempt to reconstruct histories by using oral testimony and was concerned with "whose voice - or voices - are heard" in the writing of history (Thompson 1978, viii). Thompson maintained that the choice of the evidence used must reflect the way that history is used within the community. Not only would this have important implication for the relationship between history and community, but also for historiography itself. Oral history would "reinforce the notion that history is pursued within a social context and with political implications" (ibid).

A joint working party was set up from members of the Second Generation Group and the trustees of the museum with Bill Williams as chair to see whether the two ideas could be combined. This working party soon

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[12] Boydon Southwood. MJM: Holocaust Centre Feasibility Study. Interim Report, April 1995, 25

transformed itself into an advisory group, a sub-committee of the Trustees. The sub-committee contained many of the foremost Holocaust scholars in Britain such as Tony Kushner, Colin Richmond and also subsequently Stephen Smith the director of Beth Shalom. At first the idea did not have the full support of the trustees. Some felt that the museum might be taken over by this new project and be a conceptual threat that would diminish the importance of Manchester Jewish history at the expense of the Holocaust. However, the trustees did vote unanimously to continue with the project although as Bill Williams repeats they,

> needed convincing that it could be done without undermining the present museum architecturally, conceptually and in terms of its importance as giving emphasis towards a local history, it takes time to convince them.
> (Williams, 1996).

Again it took "time, pressure and manipulation" (ibid.) to convince the trustees that they would be making the right decision if they endorsed the new development. Williams believes that an important factor in convincing the trustees was the reassurance from the steering committee that the Holocaust development could be seen and represented as "logical extension" of the museum and would in no way "belittle it." The design and layout of the proposed museum confirmed this with the exhibitions on Jewish history to be located in the upper level, separated from the Holocaust in the basement.

The way that the Holocaust would have been integrated within the museum as a whole was not established by the time of the failure of the project. One design strategy that had already been agreed, however, was that the focus on the Manchester experience of the Holocaust would be central. The testimonies of survivors of the Holocaust who came to Manchester after the war would have been used and also the possibility of a collaboration with the Guardian which,

as the Manchester Guardian, was the only paper to keep its readers informed about the continuing developments that led to the Holocaust throughout the pre-war and war-time periods.

This centrality of Manchester within the proposed Holocaust museum was a direct result of the target audience which would have determined to a large extent the narrative of the Holocaust as a whole to be represented in the development. It also affected the strategies adopted for raising the capital necessary to build and maintain it.

The final emphasis of the museum development would have reflected the complex negotiations between a number of factors, including the Holocaust narrative that the museum authorities wished to represent, the original purpose of the museum, its local context, the funding opportunities available and the broader framework of Holocaust memorialisation in contemporary Britain within which the MJM's Holocaust museum would sit. The representation of the Holocaust to have been portrayed in the extension is a result of the inter-relationships between all these factors, but most importantly between the perceived specificity of the Jewish Holocaust and the need to 'universalise' the messages to appeal to a wider, non-Jewish audience.

The ideological beginning of the Holocaust museum is the centrality of the Jewish experience of the Holocaust. The MJM's advisory group

> takes the specificity of the Jewish experience of the Holocaust as its starting point. This is not to deny the extent to which others were swept up in the process of mass extinction....It is however to acknowledge that the 12 year Nazi focus on the annihilation of the Jews as a race was and remains a sustained act of genocidal violence without precedent. [13]

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[13] Boyden Southwood. MJM Holocaust Centre Feasibility Study. Final Report. (Hereafter Final Report) February 1996, p 5.

As the feasibility study suggested, with the specificity of the Jewish experience of the Holocaust as the central tenet of the development, the narrative of the Holocaust is thus set in a particular context: that of the story of European Jewry. In this version, the museum would therefore tell about *what* was lost as well as *how* it was lost, giving the visitor information on the thriving Jewish communities in Eastern Europe and the largely assimilated Jewish populations of Western Europe before explaining about the Nazis' attempt at genocide.

> In drawing its strength from within the Jewish community and in speaking to and on behalf of the Jewish experience it will naturally concentrate its attention on the impact of the Holocaust on Jewish culture. It will seek to demonstrate the extent of the cultural loss as well as the human tragedy. [14]

The narrative of the Holocaust is also affected by the museum's location in Manchester. In proposing to situate the Holocaust museum within the existing Manchester Jewish museum, the site itself becomes part of the story, offering the opportunity to view the Holocaust through the eyes of Manchester Jewry. The resulting combination of narrative and site mean that the development was 'unique' within the context of Holocaust memorialisation.

> The narrative framework and the social context for the centre's work therefore becomes distinctive. The impact of the Holocaust on Manchester Jewry (and their response to it) is an important element in reinforcing and defining the unique contribution of the proposed centre in its regional context. [15]

This will obviously be important in terms of marketing and fund-raising, a point I will return to below.

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[14] Final Report, p5.
[15] Ibid.

Hand in hand with the specificity of the Holocaust in this narrative was the need to universalise the lessons that can be learnt from it, otherwise "the Centre's work will be diminished". The universal lessons that the visitor will take away with them fall into two categories: the global and the individual. The global implications relates the Jewish Holocaust to other historical and contemporary examples of genocide, such as Bosnia and Rwanda. The Holocaust and other genocides would be a pedagogic tool in order to examine the nature of such occurrences.

> If a Holocaust Centre is to broaden its proposition to embrace non-Jewish people then it should establish educational links between what happened during the Holocaust and continuing global patterns of genocide under all kinds of social, political and economic conditions. [16]

The moral lessons of the Holocaust are also seen as important on the level of the individual. Reminding the reader that the mission statement of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museums contains as part of their remit to "inspire visitors to contemplate the moral implications of their choices", the feasibility study suggested that the role of the museum should also be to

> encourage young people to contemplate their own personal response to the moral predicaments of the perpetrators a well as the suffering of the victims. [17]

This narrative also uses the treatment of the Jews as a perennial 'Other' as a way of examining the treatment of minorities in contemporary life. The report argued that for those that are forced to live on the margins of society, either through choice, coercion or more subtle exclusionary tendencies, the Holocaust can be seen as a way of exploring these processes as an 'ultimate example' of social exclusion.

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[16] Final Report, p7.

> The Holocaust's main educational strength therefore lies in its sustained emblematic power as the ultimate metaphor for intolerance and its logical conclusions. Consciously using it to encourage an understanding of the progression from individual prejudice to mass genocide is the key to maximising its educational benefit. [18]

This narrative framework therefore had direct implications for the proposed museum displays. Although the exact layout of the new museum had yet to be finalised, the over-all balance of the displays was considered. A third of the space would be an exhibition devoted to the heterogeneous experiences of Jewish people throughout time and another third given over to the Second World War itself "stressing the choices open to perpetrators and bystanders". Thus there was be a balance, in amounts of space given, to both what was lost and how it was lost. Making up the rest of the exhibition were be displays on the rise and ideology of Nazism, Manchester's reactions to the Holocaust and the arrival of the refugees, and finally a place of reflection. Therefore although the exhibition was to be grounded in Manchester, only a small part of the actual Holocaust museum was devoted to the 'Manchester experience'.

It could be argued that a greater proportion of space devoted to this theme would bias this displays towards giving undue prominence to the experiences and reactions of Manchester's Jewish and non-Jewish populations in preference to the experience of (primarily) Jews in Nazi occupied or controlled Europe. However the balance of the displays also reflects a contestation between the need to articulate a Holocaust with relevance to the museum's locality and, given the seeming lack of interest on the part of Manchester Jewry for the museum, the need to attract funding from national bodies.

The consultants suggested a partnership between a number of different sources. It could be argued that the need for such a 'partnership' approach is predicated

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[17] Final Report, p7.

on the knowledge that no one group has sufficient resources, or sufficient interest to fund the project in full. The partnerships suggested were: a community funding initiative, Jewish Communal Bodies, the European Union, Local Authorities, Trusts and Foundations and the National Lottery. Applications to each of these partners had implications, some more substantial than others, for the role of the museum in an alternative local and national context. This would in turn have influenced the audience the museum was aimed at and therefore the representation of the Holocaust to be portrayed.

It was noted in the consultant's report that many of the funding options would rely on the first: a "significant contribution" from within the Jewish community. The Manchester Jewish Museum's present profile within the community is low, reflecting the historic funding priorities of welfare groups. Williams' assertion that the motivations of founding a Holocaust museums are never innocent and can be mediated through self-interest are also evident within the consultative document. The Holocaust museum development was seen as a possible way of securing the long term financial security of the museum as a whole. Certain groups within the Manchester Jewish community have never given their support to the museum. For different reason both the younger, mainly suburbanite, Jewish population and the ultra-Orthodox community in Broughton Park "have not embraced MJM as a valuable resource". In addition, a number of what the consultants call "key high profile individuals" have not previously supported the museum but upon whose support, in terms of either financial or cultural capital, is seen as crucial to legitimate the development.

> These groups and individuals are the key to a grass roots fund-raising initiative. Its ultimate value to MJM may go further than the proposed new development. If they can be persuaded of the innate value of a Holocaust Education Centre then that support may transfer itself to the

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[18] Final Report, p8.

> museum itself and lay the basis for a more stable financial basis for the whole operation. [19]

This is all the more important as funds from communal organisations were unlikely.

> Despite considerable efforts we were unable to identify any communal organisations that would be able to offer more than "moral support". [20]

The third funding option was money from European Union (EU) initiatives to enhance regional development. Priority Five of the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) is concerned with Tourism and Cultural Industries and Image Enhancement. The museum hoped to take advantage of the shift in emphasis away from the funding of new initiatives to promoting existing facilities with the aim of encouraging longer stays in the area by the visitor. For eligibility in this scheme the museum would have had to demonstrate, amongst other things, why such an initiative was needed and how it would be integrated within the tourism and economy of the area.

Noting recent large donations to museums and galleries by Jewish trusts and foundations, the consultants also advocated the museum pursued this path for funding. [21] However, the possibilities for funding from this source were largely dependent on the ambitions of the MJM and the way in which it would present itself within the context of Holocaust Education. For example, the Clore Foundation was a major source of funding having given £150,000 to the London Museum of Jewish Life. However, whilst agreeing "in principle" to the idea of the Holocaust Centre, the foundation felt that if it were to support such an

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19 Final Report, p24.

20 Ibid.

21 They mention a number of donations including "R.M. Burton charitable Trust (£5,000 to the Jewish Museum in London), the Caritas Trust (£14,000 to the National Gallery), the Kobler Trust (£1,000 to the Courtald Institute) and the Kreitman Foundation (to a number of gallery projects)". Final Report, p26.

initiative, it would have to be a national institution "as it rarely places its limited funds outside London". [22] This is indicative of the relationship between London and the provinces, with the vast majority of supposedly 'national' Jewish institutions having their base in the capital. As Sir Sidney Hamburger, a prominent member of both the Manchester Jewish and business communities, has suggested

> If the Board [of Deputies] didn't exist...it would make very little difference to the life of the Manchester community. Our synagogues are all independent. We make a very minimal contribution to the Chief Rabbinate fund and to the Board. Whereas Londoners expect Mancunians to go down to London at the drop of a hat for a meeting at five o'clock, you can't persuade a Londoner to come up to Manchester. You don't get the feeling that it's a two-way traffic.
> (Quoted in Brooks 1989, 270-1).

The museum also came into competition for funding from other Holocaust projects. The Wolfson Foundation was considering funding a Holocaust Centre in London, and would therefore probably not fund a similar initiative in Manchester.

An inherent contradiction therefore existed within the proposal: a focus on the museum's perceived strengths such as oral history and locating itself within the Manchester Jewish community would stigmatise it as a local institution which would not attract funding from most of the initiatives. Although the ERDF is keen to see local initiatives that would enhance the local environment, it also focuses on the need to attract visitors from outside that locale, thus implying the institution should have a wider significance than for Manchester Jewry. The other funding bodies are keen to promote 'National' institutions for a variety of reasons. The MJM therefore faces stiff competition for this funding from other

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[22] Final Report, p24.

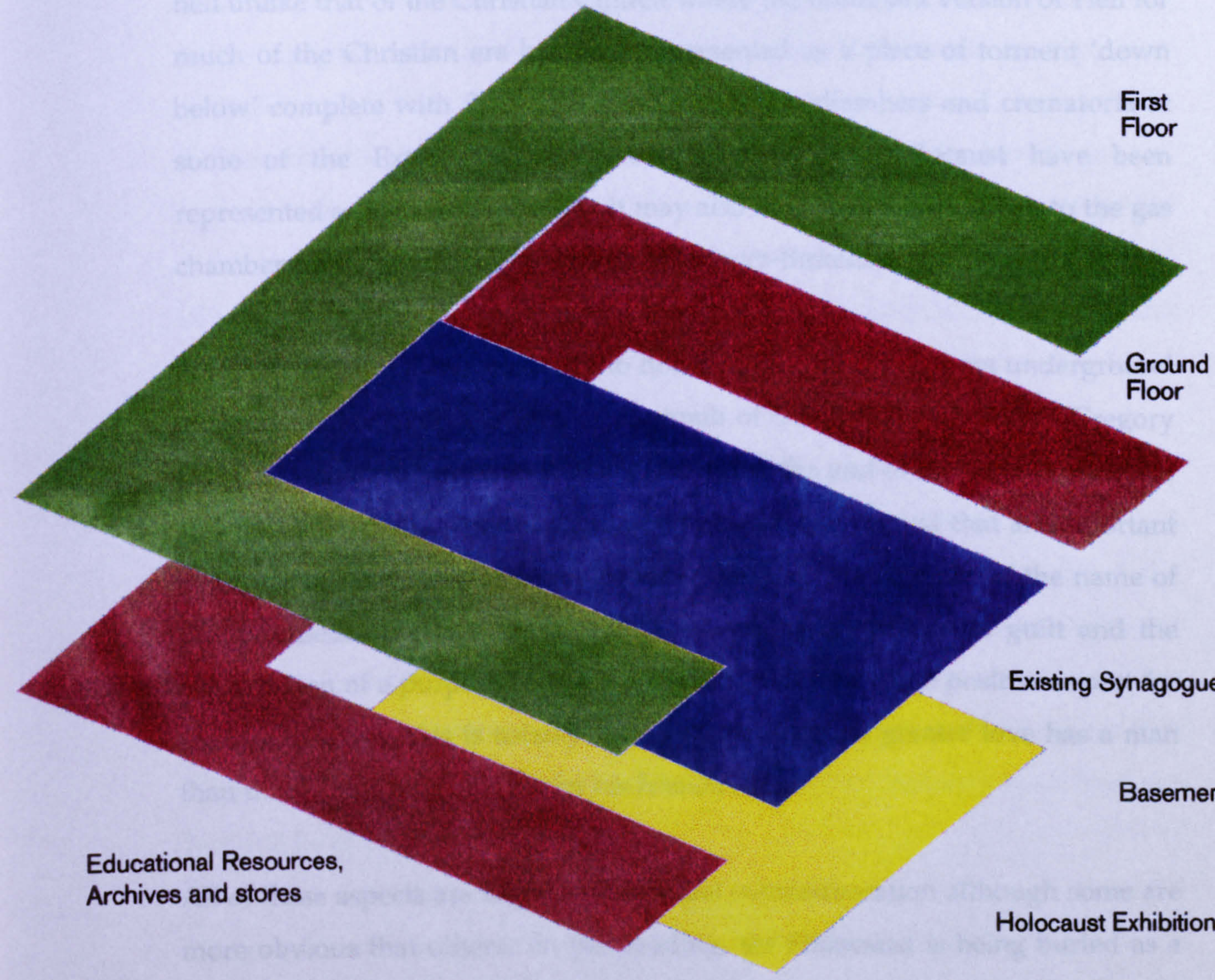
initiatives which are conceived of as national, mainly because of their location in London, the national capital.

The Layout of the Development.

The new Holocaust section would have been incorporated both physically and thematically into the present museum. At the moment, the permanent exhibition is housed in the ladies' gallery, a horse-shoe mezzanine floor within the main body of the synagogue. Temporary exhibitions are housed in the succah which is a room used as a tabernacle during the festival of Succoth. It was originally covered by a removable roof on rollers so that the room could be open to the elements during the festival as well as decorated with fruits etc. The new development was to be constructed in two new buildings. One of these, a two story development, would ring the synagogue on three sides, to contain expanded educational resources as well as storage and archival facilities. The section on Manchester Jewry would remain in the same place but the visitor would have been able to walk through from this section into exhibits contained on the second floor of these new areas dealing with the histories of European and World Jewry (see Fig. 6).

The Holocaust section was to be separated from the rest of the exhibition in a new underground 'cellar' to run the whole length and width of the expanded building. As well as providing adequate space for the Holocaust displays, there was also a symbolic positioning of the exhibits in that it would have been literally and symbolically be *down*.

Fig. 5. Floor Plan of the Manchester Jewish Museum, including the proposed development (not to scale).



This is a phenomenon that occurs in many of the Holocaust museums and displays that I have examined. The exhibition at Beth Shalom is also housed in the basement (see chapter six), as are both of the monuments in Paris to the Holocaust. An complex heuristic device is being employed here, and one that can be read on many levels. A Holocaust exhibition in this location could be a symbolic gesture to the 'hellish' experience of those who experienced the many horrors of the Holocaust. This reading is more problematic within the Jewish context of the Manchester Jewish museum than a Christian site like Beth Shalom. The Jewish religion does not really articulate any concept of heaven or hell unlike that of the Christian Church where the dominant version of Hell for much of the Christian era has been represented as a place of torment 'down below' complete with fire. The discovery of gas chambers and crematoria at some of the Extermination Centres used in the Holocaust have been represented as analogous to Hell. It may also echo the journey down to the gas chambers of those to be murdered at Auschwitz-Birkenau.

Another reading of this tendency to house Holocaust exhibitions underground is closely linked with the idea of the tomb of the unknown soldier. Gregory (1994) has analysed the rituals that surrounded the end of the First World War and building on the work of some psychologists has argued that an important stage in the acceptance of death is seeing the body and the use of the name of the deceased. The next stage is the overcoming of feelings of guilt and the construction of a purpose to the death which will find some positive aspect for the loss. In war, this is usually the 'great lie' that 'no greater love has a man than that he lay down his life for his friends'.

All of these aspects are found in Holocaust commemoration although some are more obvious that others. In this reading, the Holocaust is being buried as a symbolic gesture that the visitor should come to terms with the events described in the exhibitions. In the same way that someone who has suffered a recent death of a loved one uses a gravestone as a focus for grief and to start

coming to terms with the bereavement, the tomb of the unknown soldier served this purpose for the great many who had no known grave to visit. The burial of the unknown soldier at Westminster Abbey on 11th November 1920 gave a surrogate body for those who had none. It was filled with a hundred sandbags of earth from all the main battlefields of the War, a symbolic gathering-together of the dead who had no known grave.

In the case of the French Holocaust memorials the connection is more easily made as in both memorials there are literally bodies interned within the structure. In the *memorial de la deportation* on the *Isle de la Cité* in Paris there is a whole body brought back from one of the concentration camps together with ashes from all of the camps where French people were murdered. In the *Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine* site nearby in the former Jewish quarter, there are ashes that were removed from a number of different camps and laid in soil from Israel by a Rabbi in a full formal burial service. These rituals are part of an attempt to come to terms with the horror and widespread loss of life and to fit them in with established rites of passage that have been developed through time.

In the case of the MJM it is not unreasonable to extrapolate this further and suggest that the museum exhibit in this form is a representation of the 'Unknown soldier' in this case the unknown victim of the Holocaust. Whereas the unknown soldier which symbolises the grief of a nation is unknown except that he is a member of that nation (although one can assume that he is a white Christian male) the unknown Holocaust victim will be unknown apart from the fact that he or she will be Jewish.

Gregory has also explained that there were differences in the acceptance of the tomb of the unknown soldier. Although the number of civilians who visited the memorial after its internment was substantial, there is evidence to suggest that servicemen seem to have had little emotional attachment to the tomb. This can

be explained by the sheer scale of death and destruction experienced by those who had served at the various fronts evidenced the improbability that the body would be anyone that the returning servicemen knew. It was therefore difficult to achieve the suspension of disbelief that made identification with the dead soldier possible. The power for the civilians lay in the lack of a name given to the soldier. Whilst nameless it could be Everyman. [23] Whilst unknown, the symbolic 'body' of the Holocaust exhibit would be represented as Jewish within the museum displays, echoing the hegemony of the 'Jewish Holocaust'.

Another reason for the predominance of exhibitions being underground is protection from attack. Museums and memorials to the Holocaust are prone to physical attack from a number of sources where the Holocaust is seen as either a hoax by Neo-Fascists and an impediment to the rehabilitation of Nazi Ideology or a justification to relations of domination where the Holocaust is used as a political football in relations between Israel and various Arab countries. [24]

Connection or Disconnection? The Importance of Place.

One of the central theoretical frameworks of this thesis is that space and place are important in the making of memory. In this construction, place is not just an accidental backdrop to a memorial but plays an active role in shaping particular memories and the reactions of the visitor to the mnemonic site.

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[23] This may be one reason why I feel distaste at the sponsoring of Holocaust Memorials that name specific individuals whose memory is given pride of place within the mnemonic site. A focus of one individual, for example in the recent Children's memorial at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, gives undue prominence to one among many and destroys the memorial as an inclusive site for everyone who has suffered loss.

[24] See Segev 1992. A number of attacks on the Hyde Park Memorial can be directly attributed to the Middle East Peace process and its apparent failure. In September 1996, red paint was thrown on the stones and the Hyde Park Authorities believe this represents blood and is a reference to the killing of Palestinians by the Israeli Defence Force (IDF) in recent weeks. Other examples of exhibitions housed underground include the first in this country organised, ironically, in the crypt of the church of St. George in the East, London after being vandalised when kept in Birmingham.

Therefore, we need to ask the question as to how the specific place of the Manchester Jewish Museum affects its ability to transmit memory or structure the memory that it produces. Does the situation of the museum within a former Jewish area give it an authenticity that it might not have if it were moved elsewhere, perhaps into the city centre where it may receive more visitors and have a higher profile? Or indeed, does that fact that there are no Jewish people living in the area, indeed very few people at all actually living in the vicinity, distance the museum from the people who would actually go there, i.e. the Jewish community that now live in the more northerly suburbs of Manchester? In contrast, does the museum's physical distance give it mnemonic significance - a deserted landscape echoing the *Judenrein* landscape of the Holocaust?

Williams himself considers that the museum could have been anywhere and does not have to be in a specifically Jewish area. Indeed, he and a prominent member of the Manchester business community canvassed for a short time for the Holocaust museum to be situated in the centre of Manchester where it would be more accessible. To illustrate this point it seems relevant to examine here the geography of another museum of Jewish history, this time in London. The London Museum of Jewish Life is situated in Finchley, a London borough with a very high proportion of Jewish residents. [25] In theoretical outlook it is very similar to the Manchester Jewish Museum in that it is looking at a social history of the Jewish people in London rather than a history of elites. This is not surprising as the director of the Jewish museum, Rickie Burman, was a researcher at the Manchester Studies Unit and was also one of the curators of the Manchester Jewish Museum when it was first opened.

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[25] It is estimated that the percentage of the population in the London Borough of Barnet who are Jewish was 15% in the mid 1980s, with this figure rising to between 2/5ths and 1/5th in Hendon, Golders Green and Finchley. Waterman and Kosmin 1986.

London Museum of Jewish Life.

As has been noted within this chapter and as has become apparent throughout this thesis, Holocaust memorialisation and specifically plans to develop a Holocaust museum in Britain have proved contentious for a number of reasons. As well as a reluctance to examine the role of both Britain and Anglo-Jewry during the Second World War with respect to the Holocaust, it has been argued by many within the Anglo-Jewish community that the financial capital needed for developing a museum would be prohibitive, and that the money would be better spent on other communal infrastructure that would help enrich and perpetuate Jewish life in Britain. The subtext, sometimes hidden, sometimes not, is that a concentration on the Holocaust is one of the reasons for the demographic decline in Anglo-Jewry (see Wasserstein, 1996).

The opening of a Holocaust 'gallery' at the Finchley site of the London Museum of Jewish Life therefore comes as an important development within Anglo-Jewish historiography. The museum is an amalgamation of two London Jewish museums: the Jewish museum, and the museum of the Jewish East End.

The Jewish museum was opened in March 1932 with a number of showcases within the Jew's College Library in Woburn House, Tavistock Square. Until 1995 this building was also the communal offices of the Anglo-Jewish Establishment, housing the offices of the Chief Rabbi and the United Synagogue as well as those of the Board of Deputies. By 1939 the museum housed a collection of Jewish ceremonial artefacts of world importance. Jew's College left Woburn House in 1958 and the museum moved to Rose Hertz Hall in the same building. In 1988 the museum acquired new premises in a Grade II listed building in Albert Street, Camden, and opened in 1995 after a refurbishment programme. The museum has a strict collecting policy, concentrating on expensive ritual artefacts, usually over one hundred years old. "Social history,

certainly of the Jewish poor, is not a major concern either in the museum's permanent display or its exhibitions" (Kushner 1992b, 22).

The Museum of the Jewish East End (MJEE) evolved out of a different historiographical tradition. It has its origins in the Jewish East End Project (JEEP) of the late 1970s whose aim was to interview survivors from the main period of Jewish immigration to the East End at the turn of the century. In 1980 it organised a Jewish East End festival which was attended by over twelve hundred people and which focused on Jewish social, economic and cultural life up to 1945. Soon after, JEEP organised a conference in association with the Jewish Historical society which both revealed a widespread interest in the recent immigrant past but also a lack of institutional facilities on which to build.

The remit of JEEP included heritage preservation in the East End, but without a museum or resource centre to act as a focus it had little success. Progress came in 1983 with the formation of the Museum of the Jewish East End in the Sternberg Centre for Judaism in Finchley, North London. This eventually took over the function of JEEP under the curatorship of Rickie Burman. With Burman having been heavily involved with the creation of the Manchester Jewish Museum, the MJEE was therefore influenced on a personal and academic level by the social history movement (Kushner 1992c, 92-93).

The two museums merged in 1995 to form the 'Jewish Museum, London's Museum of Jewish Life', (LMJL) and represented a symbolic coming together of different sections of both Anglo-Jewish class and religious communities. It is indicative that the location of the Holocaust exhibition within the museum should be at the Finchley site which is grounded in the social history movement and therefore concentrates on the life histories of 'ordinary' Jewish people in the UK rather than the Camden site which represents what could be termed the 'Cecil Roth' school of Jewish historiography of the Anglo-Jewish Establishment (see above). It would at first seem that there is a greater willingness on the part

of the Finchley site with its 'social history heritage' to explore the experiences and actions of Anglo-Jewish people during the Second World War. In contrast, the Camden site with its very different approach to historical writing, writing out all that is problematic or messy within Anglo-Jewish history, would find it difficult to stage a Holocaust exhibition focusing on the Anglo-Jewish elite without raising awkward questions by the absence of an investigation of the role of that elite during the attempted extermination of European Jewry not thirty miles away across the English Channel. For example, Edgar Samuel, former director of the Jewish Museum, was against the idea of having a Holocaust museum in this country. The call to live in the present masked a wish to leave the glorious memory of the Second World War intact.

> I think that the memory of World War Two is very much at the forefront of British consciousness and I think people resent the Jewish community going on and on and on about the events of fifty years ago...[we need] to get on with the politics of today rather than the politics of fifty years ago. [26]

The Holocaust and the Jewish Museum at Finchley.

The LMJL at Finchley has three main areas of work relating to the Holocaust. These are: the recovery and preservation of material relating to the experiences of survivors and refugees from Nazism, the mounting of Holocaust educational programmes and resources, and the mounting of Holocaust related exhibitions. The Finchley museum's social history background influences directly the collecting policy of the museum and thus the policy on collection of Holocaust materials. The museum

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[26] Edgar Samuel, taking to Dr. David Cesarani during a television programme that Cesarani made called 'Bring the Holocaust Home' as part of the Open Space series, 19/1/95. The Open Space series gives editorial control to those making the programme.

> is concerned to recover and preserve material relating to the roots and history of Jewish people in Britain...as part of that heritage, it makes specific reference to material relating to the background and experiences of Holocaust survivors and refugees from Nazism. Our collections relating to the Shoah thus form part of our wider collections relating to Jewish life and history.
>
> (transcript of speech given by R. Burman to a conference on Holocaust museums for Britain at Birkbeck College July, 1996).

The exhibitions that have been held at the Finchley site reflect this emphasis on the Holocaust and Anglo-Jewish social history. The first Holocaust-related exhibition was held in 1988 entitled 'Refugee from Nazism' and focused on Berlin-born Hilda Shindler who escaped Nazi Germany for England in 1938 where she worked for a number of years, like many Jewish women refugees as a domestic servant (see Kushner, 1994). Other exhibitions held at the museum include those dealing with the *Kindertransporte,* the rescue of 10,000 young Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria in 1938 and 1938 called "The Last Good-bye", "The Courage to Remember", from the Simon Wiesenthal centre in the USA and an exhibition dealing with the rescue of the Jews from Denmark. The first display housed in the new mezzanine gallery of the refurbished museum was based on the experiences of a Holocaust survivor, Leon Greenman. I think that it is worth examining this exhibition more closely, as I believe that it represents a good example of the museum's ideological framework and of the way that a Holocaust exhibition can have direct relevance to contemporary Britain.

Ricky Burman has stated that the Greenman exhibition is "particularly appropriate" for the LMJL for a number of reasons. Greenman was born in the East End of London, referencing this part of the museum's original brief. He settled in the Netherlands but despite having a British passport he was deported to Auschwitz after the German invasion. He has also donated to the

museum some "poignant personal items relating to his family and his experiences in the camps...[which] include his young son's sailor suit and shoes, and a hand-made wooden toy which neighbours kept and returned to him after the war". [27]

The relevance of the exhibition to life in contemporary Britain is made clear in the final display board. Due to his work within Holocaust education as a speaker to schools, he has become the target of racist attacks which have taken the form of bricks being thrown through his window. He now has to live behind bars in his London home, a chilling reminder of his time in Auschwitz. The exhibition thus reveals a contemporary relevance to the British visitor that is not be apparent in such a forceful way in any of the other museums that are examined in this thesis. [28] The exhibition with its references to racism in British society helps confront comforting stereotypes that suggest that the Holocaust could not have happened in Britain and that the kinds of racism found within Nazi Germany are not present within British culture.

The museum is also concerned with Holocaust education. Programmes are provided for all ages from primary to teacher training by the museum's educational officer, Ruth-Anne Lenga. These programmes include an education pack on the *Kindertransporte* and a loan box for schools on the Jewish experience in the Second World War.

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[27] Greenman was born in Whitechapel, London but settled in the Netherlands with his Dutch wife in 1935. When the Netherlands were invaded by the German army in 1940 they were unable to prove their British citizenship and were deported first to the camp at Westerbork and then to Auschwitz. Both his wife and son were killed in the concentration camp and Greenman himself was one of only two of the 750 Dutch Jews in his transport to survive. Press release by the Jewish Museum to mark the start of the exhibition, 22nd January, 1996.

[28] It must be added though that the Anne Frank travelling exhibition, which has not been included within this study for reasons of space, does also make very important and stark connections between the Holocaust and contemporary British racism.

Reaction to the Opening of the Holocaust Gallery on the Finchley Site.

As with the other museums dedicated to the Holocaust, the opening of the new gallery was greeted with a wide range of opinion. Some thought that the gallery was "totally insufficient".

> [I]t is shameful that this is the only country with a large Jewish population which does not have a Holocaust museum....The attempts at raising funds for even the present modest project have met with a response that is nothing short of disgraceful. Our community seems to be unaware of the importance of Holocaust education in the fight against anti-Semitism. [29]

Even the chair of the trustees of the museum, Robert Craig thought that the appeal for funds had been "disappointing but must continue". [30]

The reaction to the museum from the YVC was positive, although muted. Some were not satisfied with the scale of the new development, wanting to call it a museum. Burman rejected this as inappropriate given the relationship of the new gallery to the museum as a whole.

> I don't think that you can really call it a museum because it's really a gallery within our museum and I think that it's a very positive development within our museum...we just didn't have the space [for a Holocaust museum] at the time, we only did as much as we could and it actually would not have been possible to create in the space we had available a comprehensive exhibition which would do *everything* that everybody wanted it to do. [31]

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[29] William Margulies to JC, 18/11/94.
[30] Robert Craig to JC, 18/11/94.
[31] Rickie Burman, personal communication, 1/10/96.

The museum has symbolic importance as the first permanent venue for Holocaust displays and exhibitions within the Jewish community, and this actual and symbolic location is crucial in the meaning that the museum will generate and also in the type of exhibition that will be mounted.

She believes that the site of a museum is important and that the socio-spatial relationship with the surrounding area 'grounds' the museum within its social context. It is embedded within social networks of support and can maintain its visitor base within a certain community. Even the Camden Town branch is on the Northern line which, she argues, is the one that many Jewish people use to come into London. However, it is possible that the geographical situation of the museum could also lead to a sense of exclusivity. For example on a simple level, if the museum is within a defined Jewish area then non-Jewish people may feel inhibited about visiting. Whether this will be a problem or not to those who run the museum will depend on the target audience.

As Kushner (1987) suggests, the Manchester Jewish Museum and the Jewish Museum at Finchley, whilst having similar historical approaches, have different experiences within their location. The Finchley site for the Jewish museum is situated within an area of dense Jewish population but is separated from its geographical area of study, the Jewish East End. In Manchester, the reverse is true: located at the heart of the former Jewish quarter, the museum is separated from the Jewish population. Financial restraints may also play an important factor in the establishment of a museum in a particular place. It was put forward that one of the ways that the Manchester Jewish Museum could successfully covert into a Jewish Museum *and* Holocaust Education centre was to relocate away from the Cheetham Hill area and into the centre of town and other museums.

The LMJL also has a different historiographical approach to the new Holocaust gallery development at the Imperial War Museum (IWM). The development of

a Holocaust gallery at the IWM was greeted with ambivalence by Rickie Burman who on one level welcomed the proposal suggesting that the IWM was the "logical place for such a development". Firstly, it is a place that relates directly to the experience of war, secondly it has a lot of space, and finally it has the professional back-up to deal with the subject. However, Burman also acknowledged that there may be some self interest on the part of the larger institution.

> I think it's also probably quite important in the development plans of the IWM and I would think from their point of view that the messages of the Holocaust can be made universal which can still have meaning in the twenty-first century, whereas the details of the First World War will not seem as relevant to lay people, so I think that they are not only giving, I think that it will have a positive impact on their development as well. [32]

There was also concern at the possible impact that the development of another Holocaust gallery in London might have on the work of the Jewish Museum. Concerns were centred around the issues of funding and acquiring material. Although the amounts needed to finance the Jewish Museum are small compared with the IWM, when the history of Holocaust museum funding is considered it is clear that the little funding from the Jewish community may be diverted towards the IWM project. This is all the more important since the cuts in Local Authority funding to institutions like museums. Tied to this is the concern that the IWM will be a 'drain' into which artefacts and other materials relating to the Holocaust will pour.

The next concern is linked, in Burman's words, to a "saturation of the market" for Holocaust education. In effect, if the IWM caters in Holocaust education for school groups, what will be the role of the Jewish Museum in this respect? Burman's answer is to stress the unique experience of a visitor to the Jewish

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[32] Burman, personal communication, 1/10/96.

Museum and to posit a division of labour between the London Museums. Burman sees the role of the museum in terms of concentrating on individual stories and artefacts which tie the story of the Holocaust into the lives and experiences of Jewish people in Britain rather than on telling the 'whole story'.

> Our emphasis is on personal testimony, and on objects which link displays with the experience of refugees and survivors who have settled in Britain. We have specific educational objectives which have a moral and affective dimension. [33]

In the same way that the Jewish Museum itself has remained as two complementary historiographical traditions, it is envisaged the museum and the IWM will present two complementary exhibitions on the Holocaust. Thus the 'situatedness' of both the museum display and of the museum itself, will set it apart from the IWM. The museum display will locate the Holocaust within the Jewish museum's emphasis on the social, economic, and cultural life of Anglo-Jewry and the museums' actual location within a Jewish cultural centre in Finchley.

> Our Museum's displays and educational programme are set within the context of our exhibition on the roots and social history of Jewish people in London, so that we hope a positive message is conveyed of the diversity and vibrancy of Jewish life in Britain. In addition, the Jewish Museum in Finchley is based at the Sternberg Centre - a lively centre of Jewish life, where there is a school, a synagogue, and a host of other activities which testify to the dynamic quality of Jewish life in Britain today. [34]

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[33] Burman, transcript of paper given to British Museums and the Holocaust conference, Birkbeck college, July 1996.
[34] Ibid.

Thus the museum's location is also part of the pedagogic device that the museum employs. [35] The continuation of Jewish life in Diaspora is referenced by a museum dedicated to the Holocaust being surrounded by cultural institutions. This will not be exclusive though and it is hoped that widespread collaboration with other Holocaust memorial institutions will lead to the setting up of a quasi-formal network of Holocaust memorial institution, to include the Manchester Jewish Museum, Beth Shalom, the London Museum of Jewish Life and possibly the Imperial War Museum.

The relationship between a mnemonic site and its location is crucial in both the production and consumption of meanings. The next section will examine the complex processes which structure this relationship and suggest ways in which it can be used positively in an educational context as a pedagogic aid in reconstructing the local histories and geographies of places and the consequences for Holocaust education in the UK.

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[35] An interesting anecdote as to the perception of the IWM by some sections of the Jewish community came courtesy of the JC. The newspaper's social correspondent, Suzanne Baum, wrote an article called 'Tanks for the Memory,' which was a report on a singles' night held under the auspices of the United Synagogue at the IWM in March 1996. Using military analogies, the article presents the museum as a place for a good time and a 'conquest' rather than as a memorial space for the war time experiences of British people in the twentieth century. "You half expected Field Marshal 'Monty' Montgomery to stride purposefully through the door to conduct proceedings. It resembled the Normandy landings far more than it did a Jewish function, yet this particular US invasion was conducted by the United Synagogue which, for one evening only, had hired out the main hall of London's Imperial War Museum....Those who were unsuccessful in finding a companion on the night will get another chance to storm the ramparts at another United Synagogue event planned for the summer". The equating of war and sex is taken to almost ludicrous proportions with the report of one disappointed party-goer who had not met more people of his own age and was found "standing in front of a large missile". The change in the museum's use during different parts of the day is interesting as it confirms the museum as still an ill-defined sacred space where the machinery of destruction seemingly combines well with the machinery of seduction. It will be interesting to note whether such functions continue after the Holocaust gallery is built. JC 'Singlefile', 29/3/96.

Connection with People, Connections with Place: Grounding the Holocaust In Manchester.

Place itself is an important component in the articulation of identity and memory. Identity is closely bound up with our memories, both of where we are from as well as the memories that are connected with the social world around us such as families, neighbourhoods and jobs.

> Urban landscapes are storehouses for these social memories, because natural features such as hills or harbours, as well as streets, buildings, and patterns of settlement, frame the lives of many people and often outlast many lifetimes.
> (Hayden 1995, 9).

The question arises, however, as to the nature of place bound memory when the urban fabric of a community has been destroyed or 'renewed' as in the case of Jewish Manchester. Does this mean that when an area is bulldozed for urban renewal and the original inhabitants move on either through choice or necessity that the memories are obliterated? Hayden suggests that they can be "marked to restore shared public meaning, a recognition of the experience of spatial conflict or bitterness or despair" (ibid.). Thus mnemonic sites help inscribe a landscape with memory, even though those whose memory is contained within this space may have left.

Places can trigger memories for the people who live there, both individual and of shared common pasts and also communicate those pasts to outsiders who may have an interest in them. Edward S. Casey, writing about place memory suggested:

> It is the stabilising persistence of place as a container of experiences that contributes so powerfully to its intrinsic memorability. An alert and

> alive memory connects spontaneously with place, finding its features that favour and parallel its own activities. We might even say that memory is naturally place-oriented or at least place-supported.
> (Quoted in Hayden 1995, 46).

This phenomenon is very strong. It may take the form of a conscious expression of memory embedded in the landscape or more unconscious inscribing of urban history of the landscape in the form of 'ordinary' buildings such as schools, houses, factories and so on. These have often been ignored as markers but also be made to have an important function in the reconstruction of urban history.

Hayden, building on the work of psychologists, suggests that cognitive memory, the memory that allows us to recognise things, is heightened when tied in with the visual as well as the verbal. Thus, 'encoding' occurs twice with place-oriented memory; the idea of the place and the image of a place are both imprinted in our minds. At an everyday level this can be illustrated by the common mnemonic device of associating abstract ideas with 'concrete' visual images. One example could be the law of gravity and its associated visual image of the apple falling on Newton's head whilst he sat under the apple tree. Although individual images are strong markers of memory it is when these images are seen within the context of the urban landscape that we are able to start reconstructing an urban social history.

> While a single, preserved historic place may trigger potent memories, networks of such places begin to reconnect social memory on an urban scale. Networks of places, organised in a thematic way, exploit the potential of reaching urban audiences more fully and with more complex histories.
> (Hayden 1995, 78).

Within the context of this study, the Manchester Jewish Museum is the most important node within the urban landscape of the former Jewish area. It is, however, networked within an ever diminishing web of Jewish places and spaces that have either disappeared completely or are now used for different purposes. The 'outsider' may never be able to 'picture' the former vibrancy of the Jewish neighbourhood without the work of the museum and its staff which also function as actors within this network.

The walking tours organised by the museum and taken by Bill Williams are one of the ways in which the museum is working to reconnect the spatial history of Cheetham Hill. Each month Williams leads a heritage trail which is advertised as a "guided walk around the old Jewish quarter of North Manchester." [36] These start and finish at the Manchester Jewish Museum and build a narrative about Jewish life from the beginnings of immigration to that area right up until the 1960s. In some ways it is rather depressing in that the tour is a litany of neglect and apathy for the reasons mentioned above but as a way of presenting a snap-shot of Jewish life it is excellent. [37] This is by no means a sanitised version of history because Williams' ideological and political leanings are never very far from the surface of his commentary. Talking of stories that Jewish employers in the area were more enlightened than their non-Jewish contemporaries with respect to workers' conditions and pay, the social history

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[36] See Manchester Jewish Museum, 'Events' December 1995-June 1996.

[37] One particular anecdote springs to mind. Standing on Cheetham Hill Road with Bill Williams and the rest of his tour party of approximately twenty people, which comprised a wide age range from teenagers to pensioners (I suspect mostly Jewish from the comments that pass about remembering some of the older buildings), we looked out over the area known as Red Bank which in the late 1800s was a slum area comprised of mainly Jewish immigrants. It was on this spot, announces Williams, that Frederick Engels used as his vantage point to survey Red Bank when researching for 'The Conditions of the English Working Class' before going a few hundred yards around the corner to meet his friend Marx in the local library to write the 'Communist Manifesto'. A few years later another Marks, with his partner Spencer opened their first shop. It was on this spot then, Williams tells us, somewhat ironically, that saw the birth of Communism and consumerism! This anecdote is rather unrepresentative of the tour as whole which gives a fascinating social history of the many Jewish factories and houses that filled this area. The factories that once made caps and rainwear, two trades in which Jewish entrepreneurs were prominent have been replaced by more recent immigrants selling clothes and other items wholesale. The signs and engravings that mark these buildings as Jewish can still be seen if they have not been covered up by advertising hoardings.

inscribed on the built environment is used to debunk some of these myths. One Jewish factory long since closed still has the separate entrances for workers and employers carved into the masonry over the door, and we learn that in this particular factory the conditions were so bad that it had one of the most active unions in the area. The MJM therefore, uses its location and foundation in the social history movement to reconstruct the urban landscape for the visitor in order to give an effective 'snap-shot' of Manchester Jewish life.

Conclusions.

This chapter has primarily been concerned with the development of the idea of a Holocaust exhibition at the Manchester Jewish museum. Due to external factors, not least the lack of enthusiasm for the extension on the part of the Manchester Jewish community, the museum was placed in an almost impossible situation with regards to acquiring the financial capital to go ahead with the project. A concentration on the 'Manchester angle' during the exhibition would mean that the museum would be classed as parochial by European Regional Development Fund and Jewish and non-Jewish funding bodies in the UK. A move towards a more 'orthodox' representation would mean that the museum losing out in the funding contest to museums in London, including the IWM who are perceived as 'more national', because of their location in the capital.

In addition the ideological and historiographical traditions of those who develop the displays are crucially important. The MJM and the LMJL at Finchley are both heavily influenced by the social history movement and hence the historiographical focus of these two museums are on telling the story of 'ordinary people' and their 'ordinary lives'. This has allowed the museums to concentrate on a representation of individuals or local communal responses and stories of the Holocaust, which in turn has grounded these Holocaust narratives

within their locality: they are the stories of people who lived in your town, in your street, next door.

This has the effect of bringing the Holocaust 'home' in a way that *can* get lost within a museum that focuses on 'the bigger picture' of the Holocaust within a context of the Second World War. An exhibition of the kind represented in the LMJL at Finchley or that could have been represented in the MJM does however, necessitate a knowledge of that 'bigger picture' if the enormity of the Holocaust is also to be conveyed to the visitor. This could be provided by the Holocaust on the National Curriculum for history, or at other mnemonic sites such as the Holocaust gallery at the IWM which will be examined in the concluding chapter of this thesis. The failure of the Holocaust development at the MJM and grounded in Manchester, is, I would argue, a significant loss within the field of Holocaust memorialisation and education in Britain.

6

Beth Shalom Holocaust Memorial Centre

> The English Village can be regarded as a mythic figure, one dancing in English and other imaginations, a figure where people have located their emotions, wishes, houses, anger and more, a site of values which are by no means tied to a rural location.
> (Matless 1994, 7).

> Why in Laxton? The simple reason is, I didn't know we could raise interest anywhere else originally, other than doing it ourselves.
> (Stephen Smith, 1996).

Continuing the theme of the way that different Holocaust sites generate different meanings dependent on both their site, the representation of the Holocaust portrayed and the cultural identity and ideologies of those who constructed the mnemonic site, this chapter examines the development of a Holocaust memorial centre by a Christian businessman in Laxton, Nottinghamshire (see fig. 6). The centre is important for a number of reasons, including its location within the symbolic landscape of England and 'Englishness' and also its position outside the Anglo-Jewish community, who as was noted in chapter four, have been the group that have been historically proactive in what Holocaust memorialisation there has been in the UK.

Beth Shalom, together with the permanent Holocaust exhibition planned for the Imperial War Museum (examined in chapter seven), in one respect represent a significant break with this history and geography. The development of permanent Holocaust exhibitions from outside the Anglo-Jewish community and further, that a national state institution such as the Imperial War Museum is constructing such an exhibition could be seen as a welcome development given the resistance or apathy to Holocaust memorialisation on the part of the majority of British society. However, I will argue that this success has been dependent of the interplay between narrative and location which continue to distance the Holocaust from the official history and geography of Britain.

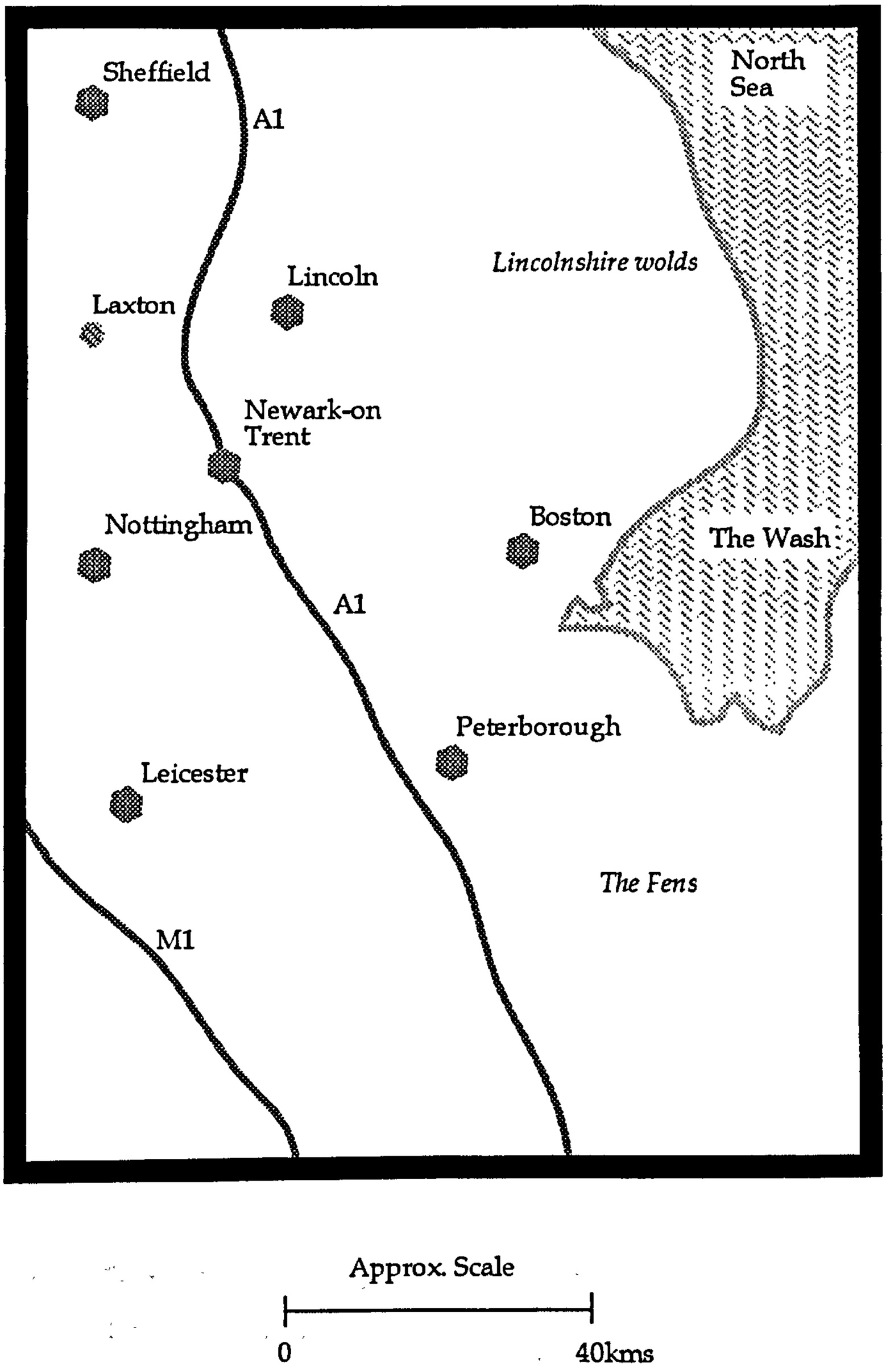

Fig.6. Sketch Map to show location of the village of Laxton, Nottinghamshire.

The Origins of Britain's First Holocaust Memorial Centre.

Britain's first permanent education centre for the Holocaust which opened with an official ceremony on 17th September, 1995: one of those days "which will be remembered for ever" suggested the Spring edition of *Yizkor*, the centre's newsletter. The opening of the centre was greeted with a mixture of joy and relief, especially by the small number of survivors of the Holocaust who live in Britain. The opening of the centre was, however, also greeted with anger by one of the most prominent of their number, Kitty Hart-Moxon. This anger was not directed at the centre itself, but both at the Board of Deputies who she accused of inactivity and complacency in respect of Holocaust memorialisation in this country since the end of the Second World War and at the main product of that 'inactivity' - the Hyde Park Holocaust Memorial Garden.

The centre's first newsletter also admits that it is "not the most obvious choice of location for a Holocaust memorial", and indeed the development in Laxton of Britain's first permanent Holocaust museum is a mixture of pragmatism and coincidence rather than specific choice. Stephen Smith, the founder and director of Beth Shalom, a millionaire through his cake-making business, first noticed the need for a Holocaust educational facility in the UK whilst studying at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem during 1991.

After visiting Israel's memorial institution to the Holocaust, Yad Vashem, he and his brother became angry and frustrated at the lack of such an establishment in the UK. It was, according to Stephen Smith, a very emotional response. He became distressed that there was no memorial from the non-Jewish community and more specifically from the Christian community in Britain. They discussed what would be the appropriate response and came to the conclusion that there should be a memorial from the non-Jewish community

as a symbol of "understanding, solidarity...and repentance" [1] for the role that Christianity played in the Holocaust.

This did not turn immediately into the commitment to launch and run a Holocaust memorial centre, but rather to see if there was any interest for such a scheme in Britain. The lack of interest that the Smith brothers encountered convinced them that if they wanted something to happen, they were going to have to do it themselves. Even at this stage, Smith did not have in mind the nineteenth century estate farmhouse that his parents were running as a Christian retreat, but there was a gradual realisation that the amount of money that would be needed to construct a building, exhibition and the educational infrastructure would be prohibitive.

> [It] was probably just about 18 months after we'd thought of the original...that somebody should be doing something....And thought, well, how are we going to convince...I was at this time thinking about talking to people about raising money and seriously getting involved in that, [and] I thought how am I going to convince people to raise a million pounds plus for some kind of Holocaust memorial cum Holocaust education place. It will need a building, it will need an exhibition, it will need a memorial, it will need space, it will need a site, I was going through the mechanisms, and I thought, well I'm not in a position, I don't think, to do much about that, and how am I going to start to do that, and the penny just dropped that we had a site that we were actively involved in it.

With his parents' permission, Stephen Smith then set about turning the Christian retreat into a Holocaust memorial centre.

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[1] Interview with Stephen Smith, 30th November, 1995. All quotations from Mr. Smith are from this interview unless otherwise stated.

Reaction to the development.

Reaction to the opening of the centre was extremely favourable, especially on the part of the organised survivor community in Britain. This adulation is bestowed on both the centre itself and Stephen Smith, being seen as "the work of a remarkable young man...who researched, designed and supervised the building and the interior of the centre with many exhibits". [2] The reaction of Holocaust survivors was, and is, totally behind the project, witnessed by Kitty Hart-Moxon's letter to the Jewish Chronicle attacking the Board of Deputies' failure to realise a Holocaust museum in the UK from within the Jewish community. Smith believes that there was some initial embarrassment, but says that the reaction from the Jewish 'Establishment' has been very enthusiastic. According to Hart-Moxon,

> [t]he most marvellous thing that has ever happened [in respect to Holocaust memorialisation] is Beth Shalom, the best thing in this country anyway, by far and it's going to be very difficult to match this, even I think, the Imperial War Museum because you go in [to Beth Shalom] and it's a total education...you know from A to Z. The way he's laid it out, the material he's got there, the teaching that goes with it, the conferences, the rooms that he has...I think it's amazing, I really do....Beth Shalom is the ideal, the ideal concept...because you can bring schools up there, you can have... a conference centre, teaching, and you've got a visual thing...and at the same time you've got the whole history of it laid out and to me this is the only way you can go forward, not by putting up a stone and praying to a stone. [3]

The Jewish Chronicle also praised the centre, noting especially the non-Jewish origins of the project.

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[2] Hart-Moxon to JC 19/9/95

[3] Hart-Moxon, personal communication, 22/2/96.

> Without detracting from the several other Holocaust memorial projects now under consideration by Jewish community groups in Britain, perhaps the most striking and significant aspect of Beth Shalom...lies in that fact that it is a non-Jewish initiative. "As non-Jews," explains Mr. Smith, "we can speak more strongly about anti-Semitism to the non-Jewish world". Cogent and important, from a remarkable man. [4]

The Board of Deputies strongly supported that view sharing "the sense of admiration" for Stephen Smith and his family but dismissed Kitty Hart-Moxon's remarks about their inactivity as "inaccurate and...unfair". [5]

Another Holocaust survivor, however, whilst giving praise and support to the centre, had reservations about its geographical location.

> To me it meant especially a lot because it was created by somebody who himself has not experienced it and yet was able to do something...which is so tasteful and so...and to me the most important thing is that it is a place of learning where people can come and look up and have reference, it's not just a momentary visual thing it's a combination of both and to me the only thing I would question is the way-outness of it, where not lots of people will venture to go to, unless they have a specific interest, which isn't wide enough. [6]

The complex interplay of meanings are negotiated not just within Beth Shalom itself but also within its site and situation. It is therefore desirable to examine the meanings that are generated by its relationship to the village of Laxton where it is situated, a place rooted deep within the mythological landscape of English and Englishness.

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[4] JC Editorial, 15/9/95. 'Remarkable.'
[5] JC Letters, 22/9/95.
[6] Focus Group Interview with Holocaust Survivors. Spiro Institute, 9/4/96.

Laxton as a site of cultural reproduction.

Laxton has gained recognition as the last open field village in Britain. This was the agricultural system used over much of the Midlands and indeed large parts of Europe for hundreds of years before the nineteenth century. Relatively small, simple arable systems which lacked a village wide structure were common in the Seventh Century, although it was not until the Middle Ages that the field system of farming from a central village was organised (Beckett, 1989). The area around Laxton became a strong feudal stronghold after the Norman Conquest when one the early Lords, Robert de Caux was made hereditary keeper of the Forests in Nottinghamshire by Henry I. It is from this period that the Mote and Bailey castle dates, the earthworks of which can be seen to the North of the village. This is described, somewhat generously in the 1964 handbook, as "[b]y far the finest earthwork in the country".

The ownership of the village has changed hands a number of times in the last few centuries under the Lord of the Manor. The village underwent a "slow adaptation to conditions of market and technique" (Chambers 1964, 3) under a number of different owners who retained the title 'Lord of the Manor' and apart from a number of instances in and around the village, Laxton escaped the enclosure that affected the rest of English agriculture in the 1700s.

With the death of the sixth Lord Manvers came "the major crisis of 1951". To meet the bill for death duties part of the estate needed to be sold, with the immanent danger of piecemeal sale be auction and ultimate enclosure. With the cliff-hanging style of an Agatha Christie, the 1964 history of Laxton asks, "[w]ould it be knocked down in lots to the highest bidder and enclosed piece meal?" (ibid., 16). The writer of the guidebook, J.D. Chambers, then Professor of Economic History at the University of Nottingham, must have been closely involved with the village as he approached the vice-chancellor of the University

of Nottingham, a Mr. Hallward, and was then asked to find out how much the village was likely to cost in case the University wished to purchase it.

Professor Chambers rather wistfully remembers imagining "for an intoxicating moment" the sight of retired professors "toiling on their medieval strips at Laxton to eke out their exiguous pensions" (ibid., 16). This vision faded as the news was announced that the site had been acquired by the Minister of Agriculture and handed to the Agricultural Land Commission with the instruction "to preserve the open field, to help [its] tenants to meet the demands of the future" (Fifth Report of the Land Commission, March, 1952, cited ibid.).

Although Laxton as a whole was not divided up into the 'patchwork' of small fields by Enclosure Acts that have come to represent a certain vision of England, beloved by politicians, advertisers and social scientists alike, it is still situated within the broad range of discourses which surround notions of 'the rural. Newby in 1977 identified what he considered to be the dominant representations of the rural typified by that of the 'Good Life'. The predominance of the notion of a rural England which is the "repository of quintessential English values" can be traced to the time when England became predominantly urban.

> Real England has never been represented by the town, but by the village, and the English countryside has been converted into a vast arcadian rural idyll in the mind of the average Englishman (sic).
> (Newby 1977, 12).

The village is seen as a "timeless institution of immemorial antiquity" which makes relationships somehow more real and meaningful. The rural as the site of a vanished golden age is illustrated in the writing of William Cobbett, the English journalist and social reformer, who populated his writing with "merrie rustics and sturdy beef-eating yeomanry," which Newby believes obscured the

"repressions and privations of old England". His biographer W.B. Pemberton suggested that Cobbett's ideal society would consist of "a beneficent landowner, a sturdy peasantry, a village community self-supporting and static" (ibid., 14). Many subsequent writers from Coleridge to Engels have repeated this vision and so the rural has become associated with a number of positive connotations that have permeated through English culture. Newby's point is that this masks a situation of rural poverty and class exploitation.

If we are to situate this Holocaust centre in this rural arcadia of middle England, it is necessary first to examine the representation of Laxton and the meanings generated by images of this particular English village. An examination of the promotional literature produced about the village shows that the construction of Laxton corresponds closely with the discourses that Newby has identified. Laxton is represented as a place of beauty and tranquillity, a place of purity where the social structure is in tact, somewhere to escape the problems of the modern world.

> It is the highest land in Nottinghamshire; the air is always keen and fresh, and beautifully quiet. You can get higher still by climbing the church tower, from which you can see the pattern of this typical example of the nucleated village and the three open fields below. It is a difficult laborious climb and not encouraged by the Vicar.
> (Foreword by MAFF, in Chambers 1964, 7).

It is also situated within a continuum stretching from the Seventh century to the present day. The brochure produced in 1964 suggested it is,

> a rough guide to the course of change in thousands of other villages whose corporate agrarian economy stopped at the enclosures; in Laxton it still goes on in continuity from its Anglian origin.
> (Ibid., 7).

As outlined earlier, this "remnant of a vanished world", has been acquired by the Agricultural Land Commission, which continues to have ultimate responsibility for the village.

> The landlord of Laxton, in fact as well as name, is now the Minister of Agriculture and, like a good landlord, he calls the tenants and jurymen together once a year to have a dinner at the Hop Pole in Ollerton, as landlords in Laxton have done as far back as anyone can remember, and will no doubt go on doing so as far as anyone can foresee.
> (Ibid., 17)

It reminds us where we came from, part of our heritage.

Again,

> no other village has retained its manorial machinery to remind us of a time when England was a mosaic of little self-governing republics, raising and spending their own taxes, keeping the peace, relieving the poor, repairing the roads and administering their open fields.
> (Ibid., 26).

It is situated in a mythic period of stability and benevolence where clear responsibility is owed (and given) by the powerful to the powerless in a rigidly defined social strata.

However, Matless has suggested that there is not one simple, homogenous category that can be called 'the rural idyll.' Whereas Newby and other social scientists have criticised the images of the rural village as somehow masking a 'reality' of poverty and scarce facilities, (Newby, 1980; McLaughlin, 1983), Matless argues that to "consign the imagined English village to dustbin marked error," is wrong (Matless 1994, 8). This "rhetoric of reality" is opposed to the

celebratory approach that places the English village in "an essential England, a timeless expression of community, a beautiful order". The image of the English village should be viewed as a complex web of "imagined realities" that have 'real' consequences.

As Shields (1991) argued, the images of place are not merely some cultural gloss, but also have social impacts which are "empirically specifiable" and located not only in the level of individual spatial relations but also in the level of social discourses on space. Thus when John Major resuscitated the Orwellian image of Britain of cricket matches on the village green, warm beer and red pillar boxes, these imaginings will have had 'real' political consequences as planning and regional development may be mediated through these imaginings.

The 'real' consequences of the representations of the village that I have identified using Newby's categories as a "rural idyll" that preserves the "golden age" of England can be clearly seen in the development of Laxton in general and Beth Shalom in particular. On a practical level, the cultural construction of Laxton means that the planning atmosphere is highly regulated and this has had a direct impact on what can be achieved at the centre.

Although Laxton is one of the most important historical sites in the area it is not advertised widely to cash in on the boom in heritage tourism that began in the 1980s. The opinion of many on the parish council is that increased tourism in the area will spoil the environment. Educational groups are accepted, but the more commercial aspects of tourism, such as ice cream stalls etc. are discouraged. It is thought by many on the Parish Council that commercialism would lead to the ruin of this ancient landscape. Debates over tourism have split the parish because there are some that would like to see Laxton promote itself more. This is highlighted in the upheaval caused by the decision to build a visitor centre in the village. It is a rather understated affair and is not a

museum, rather a small room with an educational display on the history of Laxton.

Another example also illustrates the complex debates over the future presentation of Laxton. A proposal to build four new dwellings in traditional style for young people in the village again caused widespread discussion and animosity. The more conservative element on the council refused to allow planning permission. The result was the gifting of the land to the Parish before they were allowed to be built. The case continued for a number a years, ending up at the Secretary of State for the Environment before a final decision was made.

The reaction of some of the locals to the changing traditions of the village over the past twenty years has been to preserve it and keep it out of the public eye. Stephen Smith believes however that as the land is now owned by the Crown and is heavily subsidised, it should therefore make an attempt to bring in its own revenue through tourism. He also thinks that as a major tourist attraction it would stand more chance of survival. The strict planning regulations were something that had to be considered by Stephen Smith when proposing the new centre. Self-imposed limits to the extent of the opening times and advertising of the centre were put on the planning application as it was thought that the application would not have gained acceptance if it was marketed as a tourist attraction. Smith suggests that,

> effectively we had to put the same limits [as on the Laxton visitor centre] on what we were doing....We set the limits around what we knew would be functional for us. I didn't want to open as a museum, I never did. (Smith, 1995).

Therefore the planning permission was granted but it contained a number of clauses including;

> the building is not used an a museum or exhibition centre; visitors comprise only pre-booked groups; no set, advertised or display of regular opening hours for the public; total number of visitors shall not exceed 50 at any one time, and any display or visual aid shall be purely ancillary to the main function of teaching. [7]

Basically this is a museum that is not a museum. This has been limiting in some respects for Stephen Smith. For example, the centre is not open to the general public and so people cannot visit the centre without making an appointment. In practise, however, informal access is allowed. "Nobody who rings up is refused. Basically it's meant that any interested parties can take an active part and take interest because I allow everyone access" (Smith, 1995).

This has been echoed in the reporting of the centre in the local press. Although specifically asked to refrain from calling the centre a museum, a number of references in the local press suggest that the distinction is somewhat blurred. [8] However, if the site of the centre was a few hundred metres to the west it would fall outside of Laxton Parish, and the planning regulations would have been more lax. The Parish of Kirton, according to Stephen Smith is spoilt anyway due to a main road running through it, and "they are much more part of the real world" (Smith, 1995).

On one level, for Stephen Smith, the place of the centre is immaterial. In terms of the symbolic gesture of reconciliation and the value that it can put into the educational system it does not matter that it is in Laxton. This being said, his ideal choice would have been in London or Manchester to maximise the

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[7] Certificate of Lawful Use, Newark and Sherwood District Council, 1995.

[8] See Mansfield Chad (15/2/95) and also Newark Advertiser (8/9/95) "Holocaust Museum set to open," with a rather sensationalist description of the 'museum' complete with a "model of the Treblinka death camp". The following week's edition of the same paper (15/9/95) carried the authorised Smith version of the centre's function to counter the impression that may have been received from reading the previous edition. "Monday launch for house of peace: Britain's first Holocaust education centre will be launched on Monday. But visitors to Beth Shalom - which means House of Peace - will be admitted only if they book in advance."

number of people coming to the centre. The volumes of people are less than if it were situated near an urban area, but Stephen Smith believes that this marginal site also works to their advantage, as they can give people "real value...groups that have come have had an added value visit, it's not just a museum visit, it has been an educational experience" (ibid.).

Beth Shalom also contains extensive gardens to the rear of the centre. Eventually a number of memorial pieces will be situated within them and these perform a dual function. They give a quiet space in which to reflect and escape from the intensity of the images of the exhibitions and seminars. Having an open space is also a philosophical device,

> it attaches you to the place in which it took place almost...the contrast between the beauty of the world in which you are sitting and the horror which you are remembering, in a way is a strange juxtaposition, but in fact works quite well.
> (Ibid.).

The construction of Beth Shalom as a place of tranquillity and beauty is clearly indicated in the discourses that surround the centre.

> Although Beit (sic) Shalom is principally an education centre, the choice of such a serene setting is deliberate. "This is also a place of commemoration and remembrance," says Smith. We want Beit Shalom to live up to its name, to be a house of peace for the sake of the survivors and victims".....Now survivors can wander through the centre's sculptures gardens, with its pond and brook and daffodils, its deer and doves. "I hope that Holocaust victims may find some kind of peace in the English Countryside," Smith says.

Again,

> The noisy carp whoosh in the ornamental pond, plump white birds flutter in and out of the dovecote and in the paddock behind, a deer nibbles at a bush. [9]

Some of the various works of art to be placed within the memorial garden will be created by survivors themselves. The first to be included will be a statue made by a survivor of Auschwitz. It is neither young not old, male or female, but both the artist and Stephen Smith see it as a survivor, wrapped around by half a flame, half free and half entrapped. It therefore combines elements of both dejection and hope. Smith says that for survivors to produce sculpture for the garden is less of a representation than if he or another, not part of the survivor community produced a work of art.

> I think that experience is very important, and while one can be critical and must be critical, for the sake of accuracy, I don't think one can ignore the authentic experience, because my understanding of it is pure interpretation, theirs is interpretation of a personal experience, in which they could not know everything, but they did know something and can witness to their experience.

The incorporation of survivors both into the museum displays itself and into the educational programme also gives the centre legitimation from the survivor community, a symbolic sanction from them that it may not have had, especially as it originated outside the Jewish community.

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[9] See Jerusalem Post Magazine, 11/10/96 and JC 15/9/95. Holocaust Centre is set to open in Sherwood Forest.

Pilgrimage..."the Power of One". [10]

A metaphor that helps us understand the role of the memorial centre within the framework of Holocaust memorialisation is that of pilgrimage. Coleman and Elsner (1995, 6) have suggested that there are a number of themes that run through the idea of pilgrimage in all of the world's major historical religions. To simplify, these are pilgrimage as a rite of passage where one's inner state and outer status are transformed, pilgrimage as a quest for a transcendent goal and pilgrimage as an attempt to heal a physical or spiritual ailment. It is also important to remember that the idea of pilgrimage is not just confined to a (narrowly defined) religious experience. Eade and Sallnow (1991) have argued that there are a number of secular events that can also be classed as pilgrimages.

I would suggest that the road to Beth Shalom memorial centre both physically and metaphorically is a pilgrimage. The first pilgrims are the Smith brothers themselves. Their trip to Israel in 1991, the pre-eminent site of pilgrimage of three world religions, was for them the beginning of a rite of passage. At Yad Vashem they experienced a revelation, seeing the need for some kind of memorial centre in Britain. Their 'inner state' was transformed. It also heralded the start of the change in their 'outer status' which when complete would see then become arguably two of the most important actors in the network of Holocaust memorialisation in Britain.

The decision to found Beth Shalom became a quest for the transcendent: a permanent Holocaust memorial museum. For the Smith brothers as Christians the healing that would be achieved would not only be within themselves, within their own *personal* Christianity but within Christianity as a whole and Jewish-Christian relations in particular. These themes of atonement and healing prevalent in the literature of pilgrimage and within the Smith's own personal narrative are also echoed within the discourse about the centre itself.

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[10] "The Power of One" is the title of an article about Smith and the centre in The Jerusalem Post

The motivation for the centre, as an act of repentance on behalf of the Christian community as well as the lack of interest he had encountered earlier, influenced the planning and implementation strategies for the centre. The belief that Christianity should play a leading role in the building of bridges between Christians and Jews meant that Smith decided that the project should be funded with money from outside the Jewish community as a message to both Jews and non-Jews that the Holocaust is an issue that needs to be taken seriously.

> I was keen to ensure that it was funded from outside of the Jewish community, for two reasons. One because I felt it was important that the Jewish community saw that there were people who were outside of the Jewish community who cared enough about the subject to put it on the map. And secondly I felt it was even more important that people *outside* the Jewish community saw that there were people *outside* the Jewish community who were prepared to put it on the map. In other words, it was to be quite an important...signal, if you like, that this was a non-Jewish venture. So I didn't involve any Jewish finance, never applied to any Jewish foundations for support until January of this year, and wanted to ensure that the whole institution was set up and funded outside the Jewish community. (His emphasis).

The centre can therefore be understood as a symbol of atonement for the part that Christianity played in the Holocaust. The name if the centre itself, Beth Shalom "House of Peace" is also evidence of Smith's wish for it to be the oil that is poured on the troubled waters of Jewish-Christian relations. This is all the more necessary if the wider context of Holocaust memorialisation in this country is remembered. The acrimonious debates that surrounded the proposed memorial on Whitehall were situated within religious debates over Christian forgiveness as opposed to Jewish memory (see Kushner 1995, 260-261 and chapter four on the Hyde Park monument). The atoning nature of the

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Magazine, 11/10/96.

centre therefore marks a shift in the dominant discourses that prevailed in the early 1980s. The Holocaust has now become an event that the Christian community needs to seek forgiveness for, rather that granting forgiveness to the perpetrators. Further evidence of this shift is also the greater willingness, at least in some parts of the Christian community, to re-examine the sources of anti-Judaism within the Christian Gospels and explore the relationship between Christian anti-Judaism and the Holocaust. [11]

Some even went so far as to suggest that the centre redeemed not just Christianity, but the whole of humanity too.

> It is seldom that we hear of such selfless dedication, which goes a long way towards enhancing the rather poor opinion I have of most of my fellow beings. If only there were more people like Mr. Smith and his family, the world would surely be a better place in which to live. [12]

In terms of pilgrimage, the centre also contains 'relics' in the form of Concentration Camp artefacts. Relics in Christian pilgrimage, were material manifestations of the divine, such as bodies, tombs and images of the saints which were thought to be an intermediary between the individual and God. The relationship between individual and relic was significant.

> Often, it was important not only to view sacred objects, but also to touch them in order that their power be realised and made personally applicable.
>
> (Coleman and Elsner 1995, 108).

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[11] "Hard Sayings: Difficult New Testament Texts for Jewish-Christian Dialogue" by Gareth Lloyd Jones, Canon Chancellor of Bangor Cathedral, is a good example of this tendency. Published by the CCJ in 1993 it thoughtfully weighs up the evidence from a selection of New Testament texts and also gives some suggested answers as to how these problems could be resolved. See also "Approaches to Auschwitz: The Legacy of the Holocaust" by Rubenstein and Roth (1987) for a comprehensive survey on the factors and developments that led to the attempted destruction of European Jewry, including the roots of Christian anti-Semitism.

[12] Frey to JC Letters, 29/9/95.

This has its theological basis in many Biblical accounts of people being cured by touching Christ or Christ's garments. The artefacts at Beth Shalom are also represented as having an importance which goes beyond their materiality and acquire a status which gives them a central pedagogic place in terms of an aid to meditation and an intermediary between the individual and the Holocaust victim. This can be shown by an encounter between two local school children and a concentration camp uniform that was reported in the local press.

> But the defining moment came when Jane and Anton held a jacket, as thin as pyjamas, as rough as sack cloth, worn by a prisoner at Auschwitz-Birkenau.
> "It was like holding part of somebody's life" said Jane. "All these awful things happened to them in this shirt"

For Anton, holding the shirt is confusing,

> The elbow was torn. I started thinking about how it could have been torn, who could have worn it. It became more difficult to get to grips with.

However, in the end,

> [b]oth Jane and Anton came to realise the atrocities were more than just Adolf Hitler's racism. We are all responsible for the behaviour which leads to fear, prejudice and persecution, the spine of the Holocaust. [13]

The clothes will normally be housed in a glass case and other pilgrims will not be able to gain the full benefit of the relic experience. The recent upsurge in Holocaust memorabilia, and the clamour for artefacts from the Imperial War Museum is again reminiscent of Christian Pilgrimage. In the Medieval world,

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[13] Evening Telegraph, 20/10/95. p30. Lest they forget.

the sacred and the secular combined with pilgrims adding considerably to the local economy. The transactional nature of these sites, where the penitent pilgrim was given 'days off' from Purgatory for visiting a particular Holy site, giving rise to a kind of Holy inflation, with sites increasing the number of days in order to attract more visitors, hence increasing the revenue coming into the area.

The importance of relics within Holocaust museums and educational centres is referenced by the upsurge in the clamour and competition for artefacts for the Imperial War Museum's new gallery set to open by the end of the century (see chapter seven). If the artefacts are constructed as relics at a shrine then some people will come to them expecting to be moved in some way and some will go away disappointed at not receiving some sort of emotional charge from these objects. It becomes a transactional relationship: visitors invest time, money and so on to visit these sites and for this expect a certain experience. The sacred and the profane are very difficult to separate. Holocaust memorial centres operate within market forces and need to attract paying visitors or donations. In order to attract this revenue, Holocaust centres offer and will continue to offer more artefacts, bigger artefacts, a more 'emotional' experience.

This raises crucial questions, beyond the scope of this thesis, as to the way in which Holocaust mnemonic sites are produced and consumed. Is an emotional response to the Holocaust the only valid response? Is the best way to understand the Holocaust through an emotional identification with the victims? Does this reinforce the victims as victims? Or is any strategy that raises the profile of the Holocaust valid if it achieves its desired aim of remembrance?

Tikkum 'Olam - Heal the world.

The second of the pilgrimage themes can be identified behind the raison d'être of the centre. When asked to sum up what Beth Shalom embodied, Smith replied that a Hebrew phrase *Tikkum 'Olam*...translated as 'heal the world', best encapsulated his vision of the centre. The phrase originates from the actions of Jewish Kabbalists in the Eleventh century, who would rise at midnight, to pray for the rebuilding of Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem, the symbolic centre of Jewish faith. Praying was seen as a way to heal.

> Tikkum 'Olam accepts that we start from where we are, not to create something perfect, but to work towards the betterment, the healing and the restructuring of that which is far from perfect. [14]

A sense of pilgrimage would also explain why there is a 'driven' quality about Stephen Smith, what the Jerusalem Post calls "the power of one".

Beth Shalom thus represents an important departure in Holocaust memorialisation in this country. On one level it is almost unique in that it actually exists. After the failure of a number of campaigns for Holocaust museums, mainly in London and again mainly from within the Anglo-Jewish Community, the development of the Beth Shalom centre initiated and funded by a Christian is a reminder of what can be achieved with dedication, commitment and perhaps most importantly, financial capital.

A crucial factor in the meanings that the centre will produce is the educational displays themselves: what narratives of the Holocaust does the centre present to its audience? The next section will examine the education displays at Beth Shalom and suggest that although it originated outside of the Anglo-Jewish community, it portrays an 'orthodox' Anglo-Jewish narrative of the Holocaust.

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[1] Smith, 'Yizkor' Spring 1996.

This is one reason that it has gained acceptance from the Anglo-Jewish community involved with Holocaust memorialisation. Because of a refusal to investigate the role of Britain and more specifically Anglo-Jewry with respect to the Holocaust, it reinforces the dominant ideological framework which distances the Holocaust from the narrative of Britain at war.

The Exhibition.

Although not primarily conceived of as a museum, the exhibition within the memorial centre is the primary generator of memory within the institution. It is used as a focal point of the centre and it is here that students and visitors will learn the basic information about the Holocaust that will be discussed and added to during the teaching process. Both the educational displays themselves and their spatial layout are redolent with symbolic messages and meanings. A journey through the exhibition is a redemptive journey down into the depths of the Holocaust and then back out into the calming beautiful English Countryside. The next section will therefore comprise of a discussion of significant points within the exhibition. It must be remembered therefore that this not a complete picture of the narrative of the exhibition and other displays such as that dealing with the rise of Nazism have been omitted from this commentary for reasons of space.

The entrance to the exhibition is within the memorial hall, an octagonal building, built within four square walls. This is designed to be reminiscent of some Christian and Jewish places of worship. The entrance to the exhibition itself is through an inconspicuous brown door. The only indication of what awaits the visitor is the memorial plaque to the right hand side.

> This is a stone tablet, a memorial to the 6,000,000 Jews who were murdered in Europe 1939-45, with a quotation from Isiah, 56.5, "I will

> give you an everlasting name". Beth Shalom, 17th September, 1995 [the formal opening of the centre].

This forms a direct link between the centre and Yad Vashem, the Israeli Memorial Authority as 'Yad Vashem' comes from that quotation from Isiah (56:5) and means literally a monument and a name, figuratively a monument and a memorial (Young 1993, 244) an indication that Beth Shalom, on a smaller scale, is Britain's first attempt at a 'Yad Vashem'. Indeed the Israeli Ambassador to Britain, Moshe Raviv, on a visit to Beth Shalom praised the centre, calling it a "miniature Yad Vashem". [15]

The visitor descends to the bottom level past a tall brick pillar reminiscent of a chimney stack and into the first section which is about the Jews of Europe and seeks to "give an insight in to the lives and diversity of the Jews of Europe before the Holocaust". It is now common within exhibitions and museums of the Holocaust to try and give a flavour of the vibrancy of the Jewish culture before the Second World War in Europe that was destroyed by the Nazis. In Beth Shalom the personalising of victims shows the diversity of life of the Jews in Europe before the Nazis came to power, a broad spectrum of ordinary people and this concentration on 'what was lost' gives an even deeper poignancy to the outcome of the Nazi's Final Solution. It is easier to identify with real people with real lives than with the 'faceless six million'.

The main focus of this culture is on the assimilated Jews on Western Europe rather on the small scale village life to the East. There is exclusively male list of prominent Jews including Einstein, Kafka, Mendelssohn-Bartoldy and Sigmund Freud. The original plans were to have been more evenly balanced between assimilated and non-assimilated. In a section entitled 'Jewish Religious Life' a mock Eastern European cobbled street on Erev Shabbat, the eve of the Jewish Sabbath was to have been built with a synagogue facade accompanied by

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[15] See JC 2/8/96 "Ambassador's tribute to Holocaust centre' for a report of the visit.

suitable music. This was never built due to a lack of space. The end result is therefore an over-representation of assimilated Jewish male life and we may speculate that this was in the end a conscious decision to provoke empathy on the part of the visitor with the victims. Pictures of well dressed young men and women, looking similar to people of today, reinforce the message that 'it could have been you'. Museological techniques are used in order to illicit an appropriate reaction form the visitor.

> Every effort is made within the exhibition to use materials and designs that will guide the visitor...The timber clad walls and directional lighting are designed to have an ambience that is "inviting and homely" (Beth Shalom Consultation Document, 1995).

The next stage of the exhibition is a section called 'The Longest Hatred'. The visitor is confronted by a picture of Shylock from the Merchant of Venice. There are also many other representations of anti-Semitic propaganda including some from a Punch cartoon, 1888, March 17th. This was specifically chosen by Stephen Smith to highlight the British dimension. Although the British role as a bystander is not specifically evident, he suggested that he has tried to highlight the British dimension by given a "disproportionate" amount of space to the *Kindertransporte* and other instances where the connection between Britain and the Holocaust is most evident. The section of antisemitica is one of those instances. Although there was much more antisemitica produced on the continent, he has particularly chosen to show the Punch cartoon as a didactic tool to explain to the visitor that although the Holocaust happened in Nazi occupied or controlled territory, Britain was not immune to antisemitism.

The rest of the section gives further instances of antisemitism. These include the Blood Libel, a small explanation of Wagner and antisemitism in music, the Dreyfus affair, and the science of constructing racial groupings, all represented as part of the 'Longest Hatred'.

The description of resistance is somewhat marginalised within the exhibition, located in the section on ghettos. 'The will to live,' contains information on the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. The headline reads 'resistance' but underneath is the rather (in)famous picture of small boy with his hands up, Tzvi Nussbaum, arrested at the end of the WGU. This is rather a strange image to have in section on uprising although somewhat appropriate too given the relative lack of organised resistance during the Holocaust. "...[L]ittle that could be done to stop the advance of the Nazi army, terror campaign, little else...". It seems to be asking the visitor to reflect on the role that they may have played if they were in that situation.

This section is a point of departure for the visitor to the museum as well. The exhibition up until this point, although disturbing has not been harrowing in its emotional impact. An indication of what is to come in the next sections is gained as the well-known image of a German soldier shooting a woman and child as she cowers, after the invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, can be seen on the wall (see Gilbert 1978, 37 plate 39). To get to the next section we have to pass through a narrow ante-room with vertical wooden slats suggestive of one of the barracks that were used to house the prisoners in the Concentration and Extermination Camps.

> 'Final Solution. 'Ghettoisation had physically and morally worn down the Jewish population under Nazi domination. The next phase was worse than anybody could ever have imagined...'.

This part of the section is decorated to be reminiscent of camp barracks, complete with wooden floors and a central structural brick column representing a brick chimney with an oven in the base. This part of the exhibition is designed to "give the first time viewer an introduction to the bestiality of the system and something of the horrendous suffering which the victims went through" (ibid.). Included in this section is an explanation of the camp system

and also examples of artefacts from the camps, including an examples of a camp uniform. This is used as an heuristic device for the visitor. The iconography of the displays here is very interesting The uniform has a badge comprising of a yellow triangle and a red triangle, combining to form star of David. This is reproduced in the iconography of the displays. The information boards designed with white lettering on a red background, and then black edging. The motif of a small square containing the red and yellow star of David on a blue and white striped background, itself evocative of the camp uniform is used on all the information boards in this section and indeed throughout the exhibition.

Modern museum designs are used for the section which deals with issues relating to the aftermath of the Holocaust. Many of the difficult issues that conflict to a greater or lesser degree with the heroic image of Britain at war are dealt with in this section, including information on those that died after liberation of Belsen due to ill-informed although perhaps understandable feeding regimes and the notorious Exodus affair. [16]

The narrative of the Holocaust and of the display then comes to an end with life histories of the people who have been talking in the exhibition and who we have read about at various points. Although this seems like the end of the exhibition, another section awaits through a fire door. The visitor comes out into a sub-ground level chamber with natural light streaming down through a glass roof. Located here is the visitors' book where one can record one's thoughts on the experience and a section on rescuers, the so-called 'Righteous Gentiles.' It is an ending that seems 'added on'.

Two competing readings of this final stage are possible which both contain elements of the message of Christian repentance and reconciliation that the centre embodies. The final message of the exhibition can be seen as positive.

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16 See Parkes (1962) for an account of the voyage of the Exodus which ended in several thousand Jewish refugees being returned to Concentration Camps in Germany in 1947 after a failed attempt at emigration to Palestine.

The visitor emerges into a light, airy section were the heroes and heroines of the Holocaust are proudly displayed for recuperational purposes, reassuring us that the horrors we have just witnessed are not the whole story. Jews and Christians can be reconciled by the existence of non-Jews who were prepared to risk their lives in order to try and save the Jewish population in occupied Europe. The second reading of this section where the message of atonement comes through is that the complete separation of victims and rescuers reinforces that image of the comparatively small impact of the rescuers, an admission of sin which is the first step on the way to forgiveness.

To leave the exhibition, the visitor must ascend to ground level, symbolically returning to start of the journey in a place of worship, perhaps where that forgiveness may be asked. The Holocaust exhibition at Beth Shalom takes the visitor on a journey of memory: from the ritual space of remembrance, through the destruction of Jewish life to atonement and reconciliation with the righteous gentiles and the English landscape.

The symbolic attachment of the Holocaust to the green landscape of England is a departure from many of the other memorials that have been examined within this thesis. Although in an 'out of the way' place, a theme I will return to later, the *explicit* connection of the Holocaust to the English landscape is different from Hyde Park and Dollis Hill. Although the latter memorials may elicit a response from the visitor about their situation, Beth Shalom is the only one which is designed in such a way as to try and facilitate such a connection. Through their site or situation the others construct a space that is enclosed and that does not assist the viewer in maker connections between the memorial and the surrounding landscape. As shown in the quotation from Stephen Smith on page 189, Beth Shalom is not designed to elicit a response about the Holocaust and the specific English landscape but rather a connection between the Holocaust and the "place in which it took place almost," again removing the

immediacy of the Holocaust from the memorial site and transferring it to the wider world.

So what connections might the visitor to Beth Shalom make? Would they, for example, make the connection on an abstract level that the world before them was "the place in which it took place?" I believe that it is helpful in trying to understand the complexities of the memorialisation of the Holocaust in Britain to return to the many meanings that a Holocaust memorial centre in Laxton generates through its situation and representations.

Laxton, or Lexington as it often appears in the Middle Ages, was a thriving community at the time of the Norman invasion when it was transferred from the English thane Tochi son of Outi to a Norman, Geoffrey Alselin, with a population of around one hundred people at the time of the Domesday Book in 1086. The village grew in importance during the next two hundred years and all of Nottinghamshire north of the Trent was administered from Laxton Castle. It also became a stopping off point for a succession of Royal visitors, from Henry II (1154-89) to Edward I (1272-1307). Edward visited the castle shortly before the death of his wife Queen Elenor in 1290 (Beckett, 1989). 1290 is also a significant date in the history of the Jews of Britain, as it is the year that Edward I ordered their expulsion from this England.

The Jews of England had entered the country relatively late, coming with the Norman Conquest. Like many of the other countries of Europe, Jewish people found that most occupations and trades were closed to them except usury. Added to this, they were owned by the King who controlled their activities through an Exchequer of Jews and was therefore in a powerful position to exploit them. The twelfth century was relatively peaceful and Jewish loans helped create much wealth for the country. By the end of the thirteenth century however, the financial situation of the King was such that fines were imposed on the Jewish community. The re-emergence of the charges of ritual murders of

Christians, (originating in Britain in 1144 with the alleged murder of William of Norwich who was later beatified by popular demand (Johnson 1987, 209-11) incited popular hatred. The expulsion came in 1290 after the Jewish community was stripped of most of its wealth. Edward, with the permission of the Church, expelled the Jewish people with a great deal of cruelty from his dominions and made a small sum of money by confiscating the remaining property. Jews did not return openly to Britain until the sixteenth century.

Although not a factor in the choice of location of the centre, I believe that the fact that Edward visited Laxton just before he expelled the Jewish people and made England *Judenrein* adds to the complex web of meaning that surrounds the centre that commemorates the attempt par excellence to make the whole of Europe *Judenrein.* This can of course be viewed as merely a coincidence that illustrates little about the centre. But the point in telling the story is as much to raise questions as it is to provide answers. It helps break down the illusion of England as somehow apart from the rest of the continent in its treatment of minorities and shows that mythologies that have coalesced to give images of an England which are steeped in moral and 'civilised' behaviour towards refugees are built on less that stable foundations. A chance to break down these stereotypes is missed by this information not being included in the museum displays.

Conclusions: A Place on the Margins.

Laxton is a place on the margin, a place that has been "'left behind' in the modern race for progress," and which "evoke[s] both nostalgia and fascination" (Shields, 1991). In theoretical terms, a marginal status may be from its geographical location, being the site of illicit or disdained social activities or being the 'other' pole to a great cultural centre. In the case of Laxton, it is "well off the beaten track" (Forward by Ministry of Agriculture Fisheries and Food, in

Chambers, 1964). The memorial centre itself can also be described as a place on the margin of Holocaust memorialisation in the UK. It is situated within a landscape that is as both resonant with images of England and Englishness. Laxton is a site of social practises that are learnt in school as 'history' rather than the lived experience of people in late twentieth century Britain. Both Laxton and Beth Shalom are sites of preserved memory, remnants of two very different vanished worlds. Both are 'out of place,' disrupting the dominant discourses of 'Englishness' which exclude other histories and other voices. Laxton is an erratic that re-confirms Englishness - the continuity of Englishness, a rural idyll that is supposedly untouched and unchanging. The centre as an erratic reconfirms Englishness by the subtext of *not* reminding us of the *judenrein* English landscape and *not* questioning these dominant discourses.

This chapter has examined both the significance of the development of a Holocaust Education Centre at Laxton within the memorialisation of the Holocaust in the UK and the meaning that it generates because of its location. It has argued that on one level it is an important change within the symbolic landscape of the Holocaust in that it comes from outside of the Anglo-Jewish community, but on another is a continuation in that it presents an 'orthodox' narrative of the Holocaust which fails to question the role of either the British state or the Anglo-Jewish establishment during the Holocaust.

7

The Imperial War Museum:
The Future of Holocaust Memorialisation in Britain?

...this is our headquarters and it is here [in the IWM] that we try and cover all aspects of our story. It is your story too, whatever your age, country, or creed. Learn from it.
(Alan Borg, introduction to the IWM guidebook, 1989).

We don't want it for ourselves - we can do our mourning anywhere...we want people to understand that such a thing took place...therefore [any initiative] should come from the actual population...
(Holocaust Survivor, Spiro Institute Focus Group, 9/4/96).

This thesis has examined the memorial landscapes of the Holocaust in late twentieth century Britain. It has argued that the comparative lack of Holocaust mnemonic sites in the British landscape is the result of a complex interplay between particular sets of social relations, both historic and contemporary, through which memory of the Holocaust is negotiated. These memorial landscapes are the spatial manifestations of this contestation over memory of the Holocaust.

This final chapter examines the development of what will be the second permanent Holocaust exhibition in Britain: that of the Imperial War Museum (IWM). Like the memorial centre at Beth Shalom, the new Holocaust gallery at the IWM is also a significant departure from the history of Holocaust memorialisation in the UK. If the exhibition, scheduled to open in 1999, is completed, and at the time of writing there is no indication that it will not be, the IWM will join with Beth Shalom as the only two institutions in the UK with permanent exhibitions dedicated to the Holocaust. Furthermore, it again originates from outside of the Jewish community, although, as will be shown, some sections of that community have had significant impact on the representation of the Holocaust that will be portrayed.

This is a stark change from the physical and symbolic absence of the Holocaust within the landscapes of British war memory since the end of the Second World War. As one of the central institutions for propagating memory of Britain at

war, the construction of a permanent Holocaust exhibition at the IWM could be viewed as a welcome redress to the exclusion of the subject from Britain's war memory. Unlike Laxton, the IWM could not be described as a marginal site, either in its location, or its role as one of the primary arbiters of the memory of Britain at war. This chapter examines both the discourses which informed, and continue to inform the development of the gallery and will discuss the meanings that are attached to a Holocaust gallery within a museum that is one of the principal actors within the network of British War memory.

The Holocaust Gallery at the Imperial War Museum.

The IWM's decision to build a Holocaust gallery within their new extension was formally announced by Field Marshall Lord Bramall KG GCB OBE MC JP, chair of the IWM's Board of Trustees on the 23rd April 1996. The announcement of the Holocaust gallery project by Lord Bramall, however, masks a short but complex debate on the nature of the exhibition itself, which encapsulates some of the main themes that run through the memorialisation of the Holocaust in the UK.

The origins of the IWM Holocaust gallery project can be traced back almost two years before, with an editorial in the JC. This commented on the establishment of a Holocaust museum in New York and the need for such a museum in the UK. The editorial went on:

> For understandable reasons, British Jewry has never acknowledged the Holocaust in the same way that continental Jewry has done. After all, this country was spared the full horrors of Nazism. Without a museum, however, future generations of Jews - and non-Jews - here will know even less about it than their parents. [1]

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[1] JC 26/7/94. Editorial.

Three months later came the announcement that the IWM were "floating the idea of using money from the national lottery to establish [the UK's] first Holocaust museum". The development was seen in relation to both Holocaust museums in Britain and abroad.

> The recent opening in Washington of a nationally supported Holocaust museum provides an impressive, and instructive, model. While its scale is far larger than would be *possible, or appropriate*, in Britain, the US museum has attracted millions of visitors, the majority of them non-Jewish (emphasis added). [2]

This may be due in part to the critical acclaim that the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington (USHMM) has received and its growing status as the primary node in Holocaust memory at the expense of Yad Vashem in Jerusalem. But the use of the Washington Museum as a blueprint for what a 'British' national museum should be is also due to the common status of the USA and Britain as 'bystanders'. The representation of the Holocaust that they show will be mediated through that role. The Holocaust Gallery was also seen in relation to British museums representing the Holocaust. Giving the example of the Manchester Jewish Museum's proposal, and that of Beth Shalom in Laxton, the Guardian's Community Affairs Editor reported that

> [t]he US Memorial Holocaust Museum in Washington has a head start but British organisations are now queuing up to give a permanent home to accounts of Hitler's attempts to exterminate the Jews. [3]

The Guardian therefore overlooked the exhibitions at the London Museum of Jewish Life in Finchley which has devoted a mezzanine floor to exhibitions dealing with the Holocaust since the late 1990s (see chapter five). Ben Helfgott,

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[2] JC 18/11/94. Editorial.

[3] The Guardian 8/8/94 'Holocaust Gallery plan wins backing. James Meikle.

the chair of the YVC, was quoted as saying that the development at the IWM was "a great idea" and then summarised the committee's view in wanting a compromise between the Finchley exhibition and the Washington scheme.

> Although the London Museum of Jewish Life is opening a small Holocaust Gallery in its Finchley, North London, premises, Mr Helfgott is looking for something more ambitious. But he does not want to emulate the American models. *"We could something more in line with the British way of thinking", he said. "If we had 2,000 - 3,000 square feet, we could do something more ambitious"* (Emphasis added).[4]

Therefore at the start of the campaign a number of related themes can be identified which were a continuation of the discourses that had structured the majority of the various memorial campaigns in Britain examined within this thesis. Again as with the situation in the late 1970s and the campaign for the Whitehall memorial, developments in the United States were used to compare and contrast the situation in Britain.

An editorial in the JC gave an indication as to why it was thought an institution such as the USHMM would not be "possible or appropriate" and what would be "more in line with the British way of thinking".

> Some in the community have rejected a museum as unnecessary, or undesirable. Publicly, some critics have questioned whether it would be a wise use of limited communal funds. Others have argued that the ideological focus of the community should be less on the pain of the past than on the need to forge a positive, forward-looking Jewish identity. Privately, at least a few have argued that a museum specifically commemorating the slaughter of six million Jews might - in a nation

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[4] The Guardian 29/11/94. For comparison, the IWM's Holocaust gallery will occupy approximately 15,000 square feet, whilst the permanent exhibition space at the USHMM is 36,000 square feet with a gross building area of 258,000 square feet (Freed 1995, 60).

where Jews are a small minority, and which took no part in the mass murder - alienate the wider public. There have been further obstacles. Perhaps crucial has been the inability, or unwillingness, of any of Anglo-Jewry's major organisations or individual philanthropists to take the heart the periodic calls for a museum, or to move beyond intramural differences to join in bringing the proposal to fruition. [5]

The editorial contains a number of arguments that are familiar within British Holocaust memorial campaigns. Holocaust memorialisation has been slow to materialise within Britain due to its ambivalent place within Anglo-Jewish identity, competing with other issues for scarce communal resources and as a site of potential conflict over which different conceptions of 'Jewishness' are played. [6] What is not articulated however is any realisation that other sections of British society should need or want to memorialise the Holocaust.

An indication as to what form of Holocaust memorialisation would be "appropriate" and "more in line with the British way of thinking" can be gained from an examination of the reactions to the announcement of the form and content of the new gallery which came a year later in 1995. Considering the hegemony of Jewish particularity in Holocaust memory, the field of reference of the IWM's new development was surprising: the gallery would examine the Holocaust alongside other examples of genocide in the twentieth century such as that of the Armenians by the Turks and also the Khmer Rouge rule in Cambodia. This fuelled a fierce debate on the content of the gallery which was grounded in the differing ideas that were held as to the place of the Holocaust in history, and most importantly its relationship to other genocides. David

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[5] JC 18/11/94.

[6] For example Bill Williams recounted an episode during an exhibition at the Manchester Jewish Museum called 'Synagogue and Society' in which there was conflict over having pictures of both Reform and Orthodox synagogues on the same wall. The Holocaust too, can have different religious interpretation. He highlighted the belief among some sections of the Ultra Orthodox community that the Holocaust was sent as a punishment for assimilation and a lapse in faith. "The Holocaust is bound to be a tool in religious conflict, whether it be social or personal" (Williams, personal communication, 8/9/96).

Cesarani called the new 'museum of genocide' "a thoughtless mish-mash". Others again referenced museums in the USA to give a precedent to this inclusive format and thought that:

> In our wish to preserve the memory of the Holocaust, we must not lose sight of the brotherhood of man (sic) - a Jewish concept. [7]

However, in September of that year, the trustees of the IWM gave backing to a "£7 million plan for a two-story gallery commemorating the Holocaust and other acts of 20th Century genocide".

The reaction of the Jewish community to the original proposal had ranged from disappointment to anger. Suzanne Bardgett, a member of the IWM's Directing Staff and co-ordinator of the development, noted that this cannot be defined as 'pressure' from the Anglo-Jewish community, more a well reasoned response. The symbolic capital of the Jewish community on this issue, however, should not be underestimated. With the Jews perceived within British collected memory as the primary victims of the Holocaust, a Holocaust museum without the support of the lead actors within Holocaust memorialisation in Britain the vast majority of whom are Jewish, would have meant that the development would have been unlikely to go ahead. In addition financial capital was required from sources other than the National Lottery.

The majority of institutions and individuals who are likely to give money to such a cause are themselves Jewish and would have been unlikely to support a development that would downplay the specificity of the Jewish experience of the Holocaust. Robert Crawford, the Director General of the IWM commented that

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[7] Cesarani to JC 16/6/95 and Morris to JC 7/7/95.

> We've [the IWM] taken on board the comments of the Jewish community about giving the exhibition more space and keeping it separate from the rest of the museum". But he added that he and his trustees would take the final decision on how the display would be put together. [8]

The focus of the exhibition did however, undergo significant changes during 1995 from 'man's inhumanity to man' in the museum of genocide, to a more exclusive representation of the Holocaust and a separate exhibition dealing with 'inhumanity arising from war', devoting up to fifty percent more space than was previously envisaged.

The reasons for changing the emphasis of the exhibition were that it was felt that to discuss other exhibitions within the same exhibition space would blur the distinctiveness of the Holocaust, and the museum did not want to diminish the specificity of the Holocaust. As others commented,

> Originally, the IWM had proposed a gallery on "Man's inhumanity to man," in which the Holocaust would form the major component. But this raised concern that the uniqueness of the Shoah would be blurred. [9]

The new exhibition, it was argued, would

> fulfil an important need in laying before the public the story of the Nazi persecution of the Jews of Europe - a subject which, in its enormity, occupies a special place in the history in (sic) our time. [10]

A number of discourses can be identified within this statement which can be traced back to the debates surrounding the Whitehall/Hyde Park memorial project and which inform the discussions as to what version of the narrative of

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[8] JC 1/3/96 'Deputies told of millennium hope for Holocaust museum.'
[9] JC 8/12/95 'War museum adds space to Holocaust exhibit plan.'
[10] Bramall, press pack to announce launch of the Holocaust exhibition, April, 1996.

the Holocaust will be represented in the new exhibition. The first is the tendency to concentrate on the specificity of the Jewish experience during the Holocaust and the other is, I would argue, the related discourse of distancing the Holocaust from the experience of British history. Thus the version of the Holocaust to be narrated at the IWM is, for Bramall, that of the "Nazi persecution of the *Jews* of Europe" and also its importance within the history of "our time". This second discourse is expressed by a subtle distancing of the Holocaust from something that happened within *our history* to something that happened in *our time*. The Holocaust is represented as something that happened around us rather than to us.

In general the memories or narratives produced by a mnemonic site will be a complex function of social, economic, political and cultural factors including: the ideological framework of those developing the memorial, the available location, sources of funding and the artistic context of the design. The group that the memorial is aimed at will directly affect these factors. The campaign for a Holocaust memorial by the Board of Deputies directly reflects this. The Whitehall memorial was thought of as a memorial to all victims of the Holocaust. With the disputes that followed the decision to site the memorial near the Cenotaph and the subsequent change in the sponsoring organisation with the withdrawal of the Council for Christians and Jews, the monument at the new site in Hyde Park was left deliberately ambiguous by the Holocaust Memorial Committee under the chair of Arnold Morris. The monument was supposedly a national memorial commemorating all victims of the Holocaust irrespective of religion, ethnicity, politics or sexual orientation.

However, the deliberate lack of a figure to number the dead on the monument itself has left the narrative open to appropriation by the Jewish community and it is now constructed and widely understood as a Jewish memorial to the Jewish victims of the Holocaust. The Yom Ha'shoah ceremony which, until 1996, was

located in the memorial garden, further reinforces this understanding through its exclusionary structure and content.

The Manchester Jewish Museum's Holocaust development proposal has also been shown as a product of the complex relationship between memory, narrative and contemporary socio-economic factors. The financial constraints placed on the museum by its inability to attract funding from the local community have meant that the museum authorities had to try and approach national funding bodies, both Jewish and non-Jewish for financial capital. The consultant's report into the viability of an extension dealing with the Holocaust at the museum highlights a contradiction between the museum's perceived strengths: a Holocaust that is viewed through the eyes of Manchester Jewry, and the need to attract funding from international and national funding bodies who want a *national* museum. Thus the museum risked being categorised as parochial and therefore failing to attract funding if it 'grounded' the Holocaust in Manchester. Alternatively, it risked being irrelevant to its location if the museum authorities decided to change the focus of the exhibition to portray a narrative which represented a 'national' perspective.

The Holocaust education centre at Beth Shalom takes a different focus. It is explicitly aimed at both the Christian and Jewish populations as a symbol of reconciliation and atonement for the part that Christianity played in the Holocaust in terms of two centuries of Christian antisemitism. Indeed the name of the centre 'Beth Shalom', translated as 'House of Peace', is indicative of this. The site incorporates both Jewish and Christian imagery in an attempt at this reconciliation. It has been argued within this study that the discourses that surround the centre are, if not contradictory, then at least at variance with this message. The assertion of a 'Jewish' identity by the centre reinforces the Holocaust as a Jewish event, maintaining the boundaries which fence in the Holocaust within 'Jewish space' and exclude the non-Jewish community.

Beth Shalom and the Manchester Jewish Museum also provide examples of the way in which some parts of the Jewish community have responded to non-Jews undertaking Holocaust memorialisation. Stephen Smith has been widely congratulated for his drive and determination in setting up the Holocaust Education Centre with little or no help from the wider Jewish community (see chapter six). Bill Williams, however, whilst originally enjoying the support and respect of both Manchester Jewry and the vast majority of those involved in Holocaust commemoration and teaching throughout the country, resigned in 1997 due to the *lack* of support within the trustees of the Manchester Jewish Museum for a Holocaust exhibition. The differences can be traced to the respective views on how the Holocaust should be represented and how it fits, not only within the context of the Second World War, but also within the history of Anglo-Jewry.

Williams' views were that a museum devoted to the Holocaust needed to explore the 'guilty histories' of both Britain and Anglo-Jewry during the Second World War. Further, the Holocaust was a central issue both for Jews and non-Jews in the UK and that a full understanding of the Holocaust necessitated political action on a variety of different issues including immigration controls and homophobia. These contrasted with the views of trustees of the Manchester Jewish Museum who wished for the museum to concentrate on celebrating the history of Manchester's Jews. Smith at Beth Shalom, whilst achieving much with the centre, ignores these histories and perpetuates, I would argue, an idealised view of the role of Britain as 'bystander'.

During the period since the end of the Second World War it has therefore mainly been some sections within Anglo-Jewry, in addition to a number of committed but isolated, non-Jews that have promoted the idea of Holocaust remembrance. The vast majority of official commemorations are organised by Jewish organisations or groups. The development of Beth Shalom by Stephen

Smith, a Christian, has done much to assert the need for non-Jews to take an active part in Holocaust commemoration and education.

The majority of the case studies that have been examined in this thesis reinforce the specificity of the Jewish experience in the Holocaust. Apart from the Prisoner's Monument in Dollis Hill which equates the suffering of Holocaust victims and POWs, the other mnemonic sites maintain this ideological construction by representing the Jews as the primary victims of the Nazis and down-playing the experience of other groups that were murdered, such as Romany and Sinti peoples, communists, homosexuals and so on. As Bauman has argued,

> [t]ime and again it had been narrated by Jews and non-Jews alike as a collective (and sole) property of the Jews, as something to be left to, or jealously guarded by, those who escaped the shooting and the gassing, and by the descendants of the shot and the gassed.
> (Bauman 1989, viii).

This has vital consequences for memories of the Holocaust and the way that memory relates to the contemporary social world. It has

> contributed to the entrenchment of the Holocaust in public consciousness as an exclusively Jewish affair of little significance to anyone else (including the Jews themselves as human beings) obliged to live in modern times and be members of modern society.
> (Ibid., ix).

The ideological constraints that the Anglo-Jewish establishment have imposed on themselves and attempted to impose of the rest of the Anglo-Jewish community, in addition to their own failure to examine their actions during the Second World War, mean that the dominant mythologies of both Anglo-Jewry

and wider British society remain unchallenged. Facing up to the past is an often painful and embarrassing process of self-reflection and acknowledgement, but without which these mythologies will not be deconstructed and the lessons of the Holocaust in terms of the treatment of minorities will never be learned. A revaluation of that history of the Jewish community during the Second World War by historians such as Alderman (1992), Kushner (see especially 1992 and 1994) and others is the first step. The next will be a wide spread acceptance on the part of British society that the Holocaust is indeed part of the history and geography of the UK and one which needs to be taken seriously. In addition, the ideological construction of the Jews as the primary victims of the Holocaust needs to be reworked to assert the primacy of *all* victims.

The content, structure and presentation of the displays within the new Holocaust gallery.

The representation of the Holocaust that will be contained within the new gallery has yet to be finalised and therefore a full examination of the exhibition is impossible. The preliminary content of the exhibition has been drafted, however, but there is no indication of how much space will be devoted to each subject and in what order they will come in relation to one another. It has been decided though that the exhibition will be structured as a

> narrative display comprising, for example, show cases, monitors carrying original film footage, and several large objects (possibly including a deportation railway car).

Further, the displays will use the latest museological techniques.

> [I]nteractive videos will provide touch-screen access to film, photographs and sound track offering further enlightenment on a wide variety of

> topics, and the opportunity to address complex historical issues and areas of specialist interest to those with the time and interest to browse. [11]

It is however possible to gain an indication of the overall emphasis of the museum with reference to a number of interviews and press releases. As already stated, the person co-ordinating the proposed Holocaust Gallery is Suzanne Bardgett, who became involved with the project in 1994 after having worked at the IWM for a number of years, specialising in Holocaust related matters, including editing a book on Belsen and the *IWM Review*, the museum's journal. The narrative that will portrayed in the new development will be structured through an understanding of the role of the IWM within the memory of Britain at war. Bardgett conceives the IWM as both an educational institution and an historical institution, which aims to tell as objectively as possible the study of Twentieth Century War.

She argues that, as a national museum, the IWM will tend to look at war from the British perspective, but considers the Holocaust to be different, something which happened in Europe. Therefore, although the British angles will be explored, the Holocaust will not be seen through a 'British prism'. The narrative of the Holocaust will be like that represented in "an average school textbook". [12] A number of references contained in the preliminary contents relate directly either to British reactions to the Holocaust or British involvement in it, including some 'difficult' subjects in British war memory, such as anti-alien feeling on the Home Front, the internment of Jewish refugees and deportations of 'aliens' to Canada and Australia. Also a section entitled "'Unbelievable reports': what was known in the free world" deals with,

> Channels of information through which news came, how it was received; efforts by individuals, groups, [and] certain politicians to save the Jews.

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[11] Bardgett, press pack, April, 1996. See also chapter six for my thoughts on this tendency to promote Holocaust artefacts as 'holy' relics that inspire reverence and respect.
[12] Bardgett, personal communication 31/10/95.

> The Allied Declaration of December 1942. The Bermuda conference. Reticence on Jewish persecution (sic) by the BBC and others. Failure of Allies to act: what was feasible? Could more have been done?

One subject which does not appear in the list of contents is the reaction of the Jewish community in the UK throughout the war to the suffering of Jewish people in Nazi occupied or controlled Europe.

Despite the lack of information available, it can be assumed that the emphasis of the exhibition will be significantly different to that envisaged by the Manchester Jewish Museum (MJM) before the resignation of Bill Williams, and the Jewish Museum in London. Whilst the MJM, would have devoted an equal amount of space to exploring Jewish life in Europe both before and after the Holocaust, the IWM's proposed project includes only one reference to this subject in Jewish history. Thus within a section entitles 'Attempts to emigrate' is found

> Jewish pre-war life in Europe, including the richness and vibrancy of the culture; immigration difficulties; different countries' responses to the crisis; the lost opportunity of the Evian Conference. [13]

The conceptual change in the museum's plans for an exhibition dealing with the Holocaust highlights a reversal in the fortunes of some within the Jewish community in trying to gain acceptance for their version of how the Holocaust should be remembered. In the case of the Whitehall memorial, the Jewish community were not able to create a hegemony or maintain the fragile coalition between the Council for Christians and Jews and the Holocaust Memorial Foundation. This meant that the project failed. The extra financial capital that some sections of the Anglo-Jewish community were willing to invest in the idea of a museum to the Holocaust meant that they were able to have greater influence as to which representation of the Holocaust will be displayed.

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[13] Press pack, p4.

The main source of funding for the development is the National Lottery which earmarked £12.6 million in December 1996 for the museum extension but money from Jewish charities, firms and individuals has been crucial in accumulating enough financial capital for the project to go ahead. The Wolfson Foundation and the Rubin Foundation donated one million pounds each and Marks and Spencer have given two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, their largest donation in the field of Holocaust education to date. This however, still leaves one million pounds to be found from other sources.

The money donated by Jewish charities meant the end for another planned museum that was widely reported in the Jewish press during 1994-6. This private Jewish bid was represented in opposition to the then strategy of the IWM of a museum of genocide, and would have focused almost exclusively on the 'Jewish Holocaust'. In 1994, a feasibility study was commissioned by the group from Lords Cultural Resources, an international firm of museum planners. Their reasons for promoting such a venture combined many of the discourses that have already been identified when examining the memorialisation of the Holocaust in the UK. Taking both a national and international perspective, the group opposed the mnemonic site at Yad Vashem to the Hyde Park Holocaust Memorial.

> I was in Israel about a year ago on Holocaust Day when the thought struck me: ' Why haven't we got a museum in Britain[?]'

Another thought that it was

> a disgrace that, 50 years on from the liberation of Auschwitz, there is nothing in England except a stone in Hyde Park. [14]

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[14] See Harris and also Waiman to the JC, 25/11/94.

The initiative drew a lot of support from some sections of the Jewish community, but others felt that the IWM, as a national institution, was a more appropriate site. This project was only viable due to support from a number of charitable foundations, who were perhaps unhappy with the 'museum of genocide' representation of the Holocaust originally envisaged by the IWM. These foundations subsequently transferred support to the IWM possibly because of the change in emphasis and due to the greater possibility that the IWM would succeed in raising the required funding. Thus the greater momentum of the IWM's project was a defining factor in being able to secure the support of further sections of the Anglo-Jewish community.[15]

The extent to which the IWM's project has won backing can be seen by the proposed transfer of Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen and Women (AJEX) memorabilia to the IWM when it opens in 1999. The motivation for the offer was a wish for the collection to have a higher profile and also to reinforce the message of Jewish involvement fighting on the side of the Allies during the war.

> [T]he contribution to the Allied struggle [of Jewish servicemen and women] in the Second World War should be more widely known. The youth of this country, and not just Jewish youth, should know the history of this period, including the fight against fascism. [16]

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[16] JC 18/11/94. 'Lottery money plan for British Holocaust museum'.

A Communal and Political Consensus?

For the first time, the idea for a Holocaust museum had both the widespread support of key actors and also a source of finance: the National Lottery. Dr. Alan Borg, director of the IWM in 1994, recognised the contentious nature of Holocaust memorialisation, arguing that he didn't "want to go ahead until everyone involved says it's the way forward" [17] echoing debates 16 years earlier at the time of the Whitehall Holocaust memorial on the need for a consensus (see chapter four).

A Holocaust Exhibition Advisory Committee was set up in order to advise the museum as to how the Holocaust should be represented in the new gallery. This comprised of a number of important actors within Holocaust commemoration on the UK, including: Professor David Cesarani, Professor Sir Martin Gilbert, Ben Helfgott, Anthony Lerman (Director of Institute for Jewish Policy Research) and Martin Smith former director of Washington Museum. The late Rabbi Hugo Gryn was also a member. In addition to the members of the advisory committee, a small selection of the patrons of the exhibition show the support from many sections of the community, Jewish and non-Jewish, many of whom have been involved with Holocaust memorialisation in the past, including: the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Basil Hume, Sir Ian McKellen, Lord Merlyn-Rees, Lord and Lady Jakobovits, Greville Janner, Rabbi Julia Neuberger, the Chief Rabbi, Dr Jonathan Sacks, Sir Sigmund Sternberg, and president of the Board of Deputies, Eldred Tabachnik.

A widespread consensus has been achieved around the new plans, but this masks a variety of different themes that have combined to portray a united front. For example, the former Chief Rabbi Lord Jakobovits has welcomed the new museum, as long as it has a distinctly Jewish flavour. He believes that genocides should not be equated as they are all unique and all have different

aspects. [18] Jakobovits' attitude is in direct contrast to his views in a 1995 'Open Space' television programme which explored the need for a Holocaust museum in Britain. On this programme, he argued that memorialisation in this way stands outside the Jewish tradition, maintaining that:

> We never build monuments, and so all together I have reservation about using museums or exhibitions...physical creations, as the major instrument for recalling the past.

Of course, Jews *do* build monuments and museums. Yad Vashem in Jerusalem is an enormous memorial complex and the same programme mentioned the "over one hundred" memorial education centres built by Jewish people in the United States. Whilst correct in asserting the non-monumental nature of traditional Jewish memory, Jakobovits conveniently forgets and denies the role of the Hyde Park Holocaust Memorial Garden, the Dollis Hill monument and the various monuments in Jewish cemeteries in Britain as perpetuators of memory.

For the first time, the proposals have achieved widespread, vocal support from all the main political parties in Britain. The then Prime Minister, John Major, had originally declined to support the museum, suggesting it was a matter for the IWM to decide, a reply which the Holocaust Education Trust described as "disappointing". [19] A year later, however, he gave his support to the project, as did the other leaders of the main political parties, no doubt aware of the potential significance of the 'Jewish vote' in certain key marginal constituencies in the General Election of 1997. Major seems to have undergone a 'road to Damascus' revelation of the kind experienced by Stephen Smith. After a visit to

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18 Lord Jakobovits, personal communication, 19/9/95.

19 JC 3/1/95. 'Major declines to back Holocaust museum plan'. The HET continued, "We had hoped that the Prime minister would support the principal of a Holocaust Museum and Memorial in London". Major's attitude is reminiscent of Heseltine's response to the question of state funding for the Whitehall monument project in 1979 when, during a meeting of the Board

Yad Vashem which "he would never forget," he gave "strong backing" to an initiative that would

> "help to ensure that the terrible lessons of perhaps the worst event history has ever known" would never be forgotten....Mr. Major said that the aim was not to frighten people, but to show what could happen "if decent, civilised procedures are not followed between nations".

The degree of worth Major now attached to the project can be seen in the promotional literature for the development. The plans, he suggested, "are of the utmost importance....[and] will help ensure those cataclysmic events are never forgotten": a far cry from the *laissez-faire* approach that he had advocated the previous year. [20]

Both the leaders of the other two main political parties in Britain also gave their explicit backing to the project in the promotional pack. Tony Blair, the leader of the Labour Party acknowledged the memorial aspect of the development.

> Let the Imperial War Museum Holocaust Exhibit serve as our nation's site of remembrance and honour to the victims of the Holocaust. Act as a symbol of our diligence that never again will man's evil capabilities have such despicable consequences.

While Paddy Ashdown of the Liberal Democrats suggested that,

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of Deputies, Heseltine argued that "if a memorial like this cannot attract enough private support it is not worth erecting in the first place" (Daily Telegraph, 23/10/79 and see chapter five).

[20] JC 9/2/96. 'Major gives fulsome backing to Holocaust exhibit plan for UK'. See also Holocaust exhibition press pack, April 1996. An interesting discussion could be had as to whether the author of the article actually knew the meaning of the word 'fulsome', the dictionary definition of which is "excessive and insincere especially in an offensive or distasteful way" (Collins English Dictionary 1991 Third Edition ,623. Indeed, Roget's Thesaurus leads us, via flattery, to vote-catching or vote-snatching'! (1966, 372. Reference 925: Flattery).

> The exhibition will be a permanent reminder of man's inhumanity to man and a powerful lesson about the evil of persecution and genocide.

Support for the IWM's planned Holocaust section is welcomed for more esoteric reasons. A Jewish Holocaust survivor who is closely involved with the IWM project does have reservations about focusing exclusively on the 'uniqueness' of the Jewish experience in the Holocaust. As an inmate of the Lodz ghetto he was completely isolated, but later in the Buchenwald concentration camp he saw and heard many different nationalities and different ideological stances, and felt there that the whole of Europe was involved. He has therefore used his experiences as a model for Holocaust memorialisation. His wish is to feel part of the human race, not always separated in mourning. For him, the IWM is not the ideal place, but it maybe the only place that a museum dedicated to the Holocaust will arise, and therefore he accepts it. [21]

The IWM is also constructed as the 'right' place to develop a Holocaust exhibition due to more commercial factors. The museum is perceived as having appropriate 'front of house' facilities to cope with large numbers of visitors, such as toilets, shops, disabled access and information services. It also has an established visitor base and it is perceived that people may come to the IWM who would not normally go to a Holocaust museum. British people are not expected to come to a Holocaust museum of their own accord. The evidence from the United States of America would seem, if not to contradict this, then at least point to the differences in the collected responses of the two countries to the Holocaust. Others take a different starting point for their argument and believe that the legitimacy of the IWM as a museum of twentieth century war is questioned by *not* having an exhibition dealing with the Holocaust.

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[21] Focus Group interview, Spiro Institute, 9/4/96.

> [T]he Imperial War Museum is about war, and they now realise that the Holocaust took place in war, and that it wouldn't be the Imperial War Museum if they did not highlight what were the effects of war. [22]

Some however, believe that the IWM is an inappropriate place for a museum devoted to the Holocaust. Some correspondents to the JC 'balked' at the idea of a Holocaust exhibition being housed within the IWM, equating the museum with an outmoded 'Imperial' ideology or seeing the IWM as a representation of the Allies war effort. Thus the Allies' failure to bomb the railway lines to Auschwitz is used as a symbol for the Allies' failure for a variety of different reasons to do more to save the Jews of Europe. [23]

The Importance of Place.

As has been argued with reference to the other case studies in this thesis, the space that the museum occupies, in both its literal and symbolic sense, is important in the making of meaning. The meanings that a Holocaust exhibition situated at the IWM will generate are negotiated both through its situation within a museum dedicated to British war-time experiences and through the museum's symbolic location at the heart of British war memory. The reasons given for the building of a gallery to the Holocaust at the IWM are many and varied. On a practical level, Alan Borg suggested that "we [the IWM] would be the obvious place to have it. We have the space".[24]

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[22] Helfgott, personal communication, 29/8/95.

[23] It will be interesting to see whether the new gallery will make connections between the Holocaust and Britain as an Imperial power, especially given the anti-Jewish immigration policies of some of Britain's former (white majority) colonies, such as Australia, during the Second World War. (Mark Levene, British Museums and the Holocaust Conference, Birkbeck College, July 1996).

[24] JC 29/11/94 quoted in 'Millennium Fund may be tapped for setting up holocaust museum' in The Guardian 29/11/94.

It is also seen as an appropriate place for a Holocaust museum specifically because of its *non*-Jewishness and the need to contextualise the Holocaust within the framework of the Second World War.

> [I]t is exactly the right kind of venue for such a museum, if only because its very non-Jewishness and geographical centrality may help to lift Holocaust education out of the parochial, highly charged and often self-defeatingly obsessive realm of "Jewish experience". The lessons of the Holocaust are simply too important and too universal a concern to be incarcerated in that world - which is not, of course, to deny the uniqueness of the event.

Again,

> Holocaust history needs to be taught in the context of European and Second World War history. If there is to be a Holocaust museum in Britain, the Imperial War Museum is the right place for it. [25]

For the late Rabbi Hugo Gryn the site was an integral part of the message. The IWM is a space where the universal aspects of the Holocaust could be prominent. The Holocaust "must not be the exclusive ownership of the Jews". He argued that there were three groups involved, the victims, the perpetrators and the bystanders, and suggested that a more nuanced examination of the Holocaust was needed.

> There was a European dimension and a British dimension and when you add all these things together, they militate against a purely Jewish initiative. The IWM therefore has a kind of rightness about it.

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[25] Ronnie Landau and Edgar Samuel, Director Jewish Museum, respectively, letters to the editor JC 25/11/94. Note also the ideological struggle between the uniqueness and the universality of the Holocaust message that has been apparent throughout this thesis. Landau wanted the message to be spread to a wider audience. Although wanting the leave the "defeatingly self obsessed realm of the 'Jewish experience', he ends up reasserting its uniqueness.

This is presumably as a space where there different dimensions of the Holocaust can be articulated. [26]

What must not be forgotten is the changing nature of the IWM itself. The Holocaust exhibition within the IWM needs to be seen within the changing context of the museum's role as a tool for educating the general public about war. From what was once described as the "biggest boy's toy cupboard in London", [27] the IWM has significantly changed the emphasis of its more recent displays. Although the military hardware is still present and is the first thing that the visitor sees once he/she enters the museum, the newer exhibits deal more explicitly with the experience of war and what effect it could have on the 'common' soldier.

Coupled with this is the widening of the definition of 'war' so that the experiences of other groups, such as non-combatants could be explored. These shifts in the narrative of war have allowed the Holocaust to be articulated. In another new development the displaying of a piece of the Berlin wall outside the museum coupled with a new exhibition on atomic warfare in the section entitled 'war in peace' reference a recognition of the changing nature of warfare. [28]

The IWM is one of the primary arbiters of memory of the British experience of war. A Holocaust 'gallery' at the IWM would effectively say that the Holocaust has 'made it' onto the public stage and has been accepted by this actor as part of Britain's relationship with the Second World War. This could be one reason

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[26] Hugo Gryn, personal communication, 5/2/96.

[27] Anon 'Blitz Bits' *Design* 1989, 28.

[28] Some have questioned the motivation for the changing emphasis of the museum. The Holocaust gallery is seen as component of the reinvention of the museum in terms of contemporary relevancy rather than as pedagogic tool or symbol of a wish to memorialise the Holocaust. "[The IWM] is making the move not primarily as an expression of regret and commemoration, or even in an attempt to ensure that a similar slaughter never taken place again - the reasons conventionally advanced for places of this sort. Rather, it is hard not to see the proposal as an attempt to increase the cultural credibility of a museum that has yet to live

why the Jewish Community and the survivors in particular seem, on the whole, to be enthusiastic about this development within Holocaust Memorialisation; the Holocaust will at last be part of the official discourse of Britain at war.

This chapter has examined the debates surrounding the development of a Holocaust gallery at the IWM and highlighted how the museum is constructed as the 'right' place for the development for a number of different, often contradictory reasons. These debates all revolve around the nature of the site and the place of the museum within the production and consumption of the memory of Britain at war. The inclusion of a Holocaust gallery at the IWM was precipitated by a number of factors. The changing historiographical narratives that are represented in the redesigned IWM allow a wider definition of a participant in war and also a more personalised account of the experience of war such as that of the ordinary fighting man or women. Whilst in no way echoing the social history basis of museums such as the Manchester Jewish Museum or the London Museum of Jewish Life, the Holocaust gallery will reflect this change in the historiographical emphasis of the IWM.

In addition, more commercial factors cannot be ignored. Holocaust exhibitions can be very popular, attracting large numbers of visitors, as witnessed by the United States' Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington. In the context of contemporary competition between heritage sites, including museums, for visitors and their fees, more self-interested motives on the part of the IWM, as in the case of the Manchester Jewish Museum and the London Museum of Jewish Life, should not be discounted.

Finally, the financial capital that the Anglo-Jewish community have been willing to invest in the project marks a radical departure from the majority of the campaigns for Holocaust mnemonic sites that I have examined in this thesis,

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down its reputation as a Mecca for gun buffs and war comic-obsessed schoolboys". 'Facing up to the past'. Deyan Sudjic, The Guardian 15/9/95.

many of which have failed precisely because of lack of funding. This financial capital, in addition to the cultural capital of the Anglo-Jewish community with respect to Holocaust memorialisation, forced a change in the focus of the new exhibition from one dealing with "man's inhumanity to man" of which the Holocaust would have been part, to an exhibition dealing exclusively with the Holocaust which thereby maintains the historical 'uniqueness' of the event.

The exhibition is a crucial development within Holocaust memorialisation in the UK, being the first within a national institution. As one of the primary arbiters of British war memory, the narratives that the exhibition will portray will be crucial in teaching future generations about the Holocaust. A number of questions remain as to whether the displays will adequately explore the 'British angle' on the Holocaust. For example, will the museum deal with some of the more problematic 'un-heroic' issues relating to the significance of the Holocaust to British society such as the occupation of the Channel Islands and the reaction of the Jewish community in Britain to the news of the treatment of the Jews in Nazi occupied Europe? It is too early to ascertain whether the references to the British experience will go far enough to make the exhibition directly relevant to the majority of the British public at whom it is aimed. Under a heading 'Bystanders in occupied countries' there is a section dealing with camps in occupied countries which names Malines (Belgium), Drancy (France) and Westerbork (Netherlands). Will there be any mention of Stylt (UK)?

Postscript: The Hidden Landscapes of the Holocaust

The heroic discourses that structure memory of British involvement in the Second World War have proved remarkably enduring. A cursory glance at the newspapers during the 1996 European Football championships, especially before the semi-final between Germany and England, would reveal the extent to which memory of 'our finest hour' remains in popular culture, ready to be

whipped up by the media in the drive for increased circulation. Within these discourses there is little room for memory of the Holocaust, much less discussion about its contemporary relevance. At the same time, debates as to what and who should be remembered, as well as *how* they should be remembered, still generate heated public discussion.[29] The fiftieth anniversaries of the liberation of the extermination and concentration camps in 1995 provided what could be seen as the high-water mark of the Holocaust in the collected memory of the British people. It is from within the context of these anniversaries, and the resulting prominence of the Holocaust in the media, that a number of memorial initiatives were launched, and which have been examined within this thesis. Thus there are a growing number of organisations and individuals in Britain who are committed, for a variety of motives, to perpetuating the memory of the Holocaust and actively transmitting it to the general population. It is too early at this point to gauge whether through their work they have been able to combat the general ambivalence with which memory of the Holocaust is met in Britain. However the discursive framework of Jewish particularity within which these mnemonic sites are located makes the purpose of these sites problematic.

Another of the major themes to come out of this study is that of marginality. Many of the memorials are given meaning by their marginality, a direct echo of the marginality of the memory of the Holocaust within Britain. This marginality can be broken down into two aspects: marginal in a material spatial location, and marginal in a symbolic sense. In addition, different memorial sites are marginalised by different sections of society. This can be broken down into a number of different sub-groups: that within the collected memory of Britain,

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[29] For example, a march past the Cenotaph on the Sunday prior to Remembrance Sunday in 1997 to commemorate gay and lesbian people who died during the Two World Wars was the subject of a radio phone-in on Radio 5-Live on Saturday 1st November on the 'Hayes Over Britain' programme. Objections to the march were couched in familiar terms, with many callers angrily maintaining that Remembrance Day memorialised all British war dead, and for the gay and lesbian community to seek their own separate service would raise animosity and be counterproductive. The contemporary use to which war memory is put is highlighted by the

within Anglo-Jewish Memory, and within the sections of Anglo-Jewry interested in memorialising the Holocaust.

Each group has related but differing reasons for marginalising either the Holocaust or particular representations of the Holocaust in the British landscape. The Holocaust mnemonic sites have been marginalised by the majority of the non-Jewish people in Britain because of the way that the Holocaust contradicts the dominant mythologies of Britain at war. The heroic image of liberation that is the sum total of the Holocaust within the collected memory of British people does not allow space for other histories and other voices, including survivors of the Holocaust that may not be so 'heroic'. Inclusion of Holocaust mnemonic sites within the rituals that shape and are shaped by national memory and identity would begin to ask awkward questions. These questions would not only be concerned with the role that Britain played during the Second World War as the closest 'Bystander' to the Holocaust, but also about contemporary social relations in the field of immigration, discrimination in terms of ethnicity or against homosexuals, the disabled, or the elderly.

Holocaust memorial sites have also been marginalised by some sections of the Anglo-Jewish community, reflecting the marginalisation of the Holocaust as a whole within the collected memory of the Jews of Britain. This has been for a number of reasons. Firstly, any *public* identification with the Holocaust, especially with that version of the specifically Jewish Holocaust that has come to be virtually hegemonic within the Jewish community, would mean identification as a Jew first and as British second. Within the complex negotiation of identity that typifies the Anglo-Jewish community, this risks breaking the fragile contract that Anglo-Jewry perceives that it has with wider British society. Secondly, the image of the Diaspora Jew after the Second World

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need to raise the profile of gay and lesbian war dead within the context of the campaign to allow open homosexuality within the British armed forces

War was weak and passive. As Cooper and Morrison have argued, "[t]he pervasive message was that it was the Jews' own fault that they had died. That they had died because they didn't fight back. They went quietly to their deaths and colluded in their own destruction" (1991, 91). The Holocaust was something to be ashamed of, rather than be publicly identified with.

A more complex relationship exists between those sites marginalised by the main actors within Anglo-Jewish Holocaust memorialisation. There is a distinction that can be drawn here between those sites that, although commissioned by the main Anglo-Jewish memorial institutions, have been deliberately marginalised *by them* in their construction, and those constructed by others outside this network. In the case of those memorial sites constructed by them the marginality must be viewed as a result of the constraints imposed on them, and by them, with reference to the status of Jewish people in Britain. For example, as has been shown in chapter five, the symbolic journey of the Board of Deputies Holocaust Memorial from the Cenotaph, the symbolic centre of British war memory, to a marginal site in Hyde Park is a story whereby an attempt was made to connect the narrative of the Holocaust to a wider narrative of Britain at war by a spatial connection between the Cenotaph and the proposed Whitehall Holocaust monument. This was thwarted by both political intervention tied up with the relationship of Israel with a number of Arab countries which impinged on domestic British politics, and by the relationship between Anglo-Jews and the British State. A number of prominent Jews as well as many Christians in the CCJ found any connection between the Holocaust and British war memory problematic.

The long held view on the part of the Jewish communal Establishment, that any identification with perceived Jewish issues, such as the Holocaust, could lead to the fracture of the fragile assimilationist relationship between Anglo-Jewry and the British State and in turn lead to an increase in antisemitic attacks. Janner, in campaigning for much of his Parliamentary career on 'Jewish' issues, is an

exception. His strident advocacy for a Holocaust monument in 1979 and subsequent involvement through the Holocaust Educational Trust, in the campaigns to force Swiss banks to give back money invested by Holocaust victims, has raised uncomfortable questions for the Anglo-Jewish community. After long and acrimonious debates the Board of Deputies' monument was eventually sited in Hyde Park in a site that is marginal to British war memory. With the transfer of the annual Yom Ha'shoah service to Logan Hall, the site has become further marginalised and will in time perhaps become unused and forgotten.

The Beth Shalom Holocaust Memorial Centre in Laxton is perhaps the most obvious example of a site with a marginal status in terms of its spatial location. I have argued that Beth Shalom is on the margins not only in terms of its geographical location, but is also, on one level, on the margins of Holocaust memorialisation in the UK as it originates from outside the Jewish community. However, Beth Shalom has become central within the network of Holocaust memorialisation due to the narratives that are represented in the exhibition. The centre has been embraced by many of those involved in Holocaust memorialisation and one reason for this is that it maintains an 'orthodox' narrative of the events of the Holocaust. The centre does not use the surrounding location to act as a pedagogic device to begin to explore issues of British antisemitism and the role of Anglo-Jewry during the Second World War. One case study that cannot be said to be symbolically marginal to British war memory is the development of the IWM's Holocaust Gallery. The museum is one of the most important symbolic locations for the production and consumption of British war memory and it could be argued that with the development of the new gallery the Holocaust would be located at the very heart of this memory. Indeed, the reaction to the development has, on the whole, been very favourable, especially amongst both the Anglo-Jewish Establishment and survivor community in Britain, who have both endorsed the project after an initial outcry at the planned 'man's inhumanity to man'

exhibition (see above). This endorsement is linked, in most cases, to a maintenance of the Jewish specificity of the Holocaust.

Although this thesis has used the memorial campaigns of the Anglo-Jewish establishment, in the form of the Board of Deputies as the touchstone from which to explore Holocaust memorialisation in the UK, the Anglo-Jewish reaction to the Holocaust and to Holocaust memorialisation is not monolithic. The Dollis Hill monument is important precisely because it is set within a different set of discourses which include drawing parallels between the experiences of those in the concentration camps and those in POW camps. The Dollis Hill Monument has been 'forgotten' by the majority of the Anglo-Jewish Establishment, indicated by the debates over the Whitehall/Hyde Park monument during which there were continued references to the project being the first monument of its kind in the UK (see chapter four). What was in fact meant by these statements by Janner and others was that it was to be the first public memorial in the UK *which maintained the specificity of the Jewish experience during the Holocaust.* The Prisoners' Memorial was effectively forgotten as it contradicted the dominant Holocaust narrative that the Anglo-Jewish Establishment wished to portray.

These themes combine to generate a landscape that I would describe as 'hidden'. It is 'hidden' because this implies an active process, a collusion, sometimes willing, sometimes not, on the part of the Anglo-Jewish community and wider British society. Sites that reference the Holocaust are present within the landscape if one looks hard enough or if one knows where to look. They can be both explicitly designed to be hidden, like the Hyde Park Holocaust Memorial Garden or relic landscapes such as the camp on Alderney. They reference not only the terrible events that took place during the Second World War but also the continuing contestation over memory and national identity, or perhaps more accurately forgetting and national identity with respect to the Holocaust. The landscape around is crucially important in the way that it is the

product of continual contestation over memory and identity. Mnemonic sites are markers in the landscape, put there by various groups and individuals, in an attempt to articulate a certain version of history. Britain's Holocaust memorials have been hidden away and their *seeming* absence reinforces the notion that the Holocaust is not part of the history and geography of the UK.

With the survivor community in the UK as elsewhere diminishing in number, the key witnesses to the Holocaust diminish. This raises crucial questions as to the nature of Holocaust education. In the same way that Bauman (1989) has argued that the Holocaust is a window on modernity, I believe that the geographical concept of landscape can be used as a pedagogic tool, as a window on the Holocaust. The social, political, economic, and cultural factors that combine to generate mnemonic sites, to prevent such sites being constructed or equally the total absence of such ideas can be used as a starting point for exploring the Holocaust. Not only will this give students a 'way in' to what is an extremely daunting subject but will also give the Holocaust a more immediate relevancy to the student: studying the representation of the Holocaust in the UK, a UK student will learn about both the dynamics of the social world around them as well as the Holocaust and make the connection between the two.

One way of attempting this is to reconnect the spatial histories of mnemonic sites. The Manchester Jewish Museum and the London Museum of Jewish life at Finchley are good examples of how this can be done: embracing their location and using their respective situations as a way of beginning to explore the complexities of the Holocaust *in such a way as to be relevant to the lives of the people who visit these museums*. The other case studies do not attempt this reconstruction. For example, Beth Shalom makes no mention of the massacre at Clifford's Tower in York of March 1190. Nor does it mention the visit by Edward I to Laxton Castle in 1290. The Hyde Park Memorial Garden, and to a lesser extent the Prisoners' Memorial in Dollis Hill are hidden away and, whilst

being part of the landscape, are in isolation from their surroundings. It remains to be seen in what ways the new development at the IWM will impact on the memorial landscape.

The Holocaust will soon come to inhabit what Hobsbawm called "the twilight zone",

> an incoherent, incompletely perceived image of the past, sometimes more shadowy, sometimes apparently precise, always transmitted by a mixture of learning and second-hand memory shaped by public and private tradition. For it is still part of us, but no longer quite within our personal reach.
> (Hobsbawm 1989, 5).

These "public and private traditions" need to be *shared* traditions, with the whole community being involved in remembrance rather than memory being the exclusive property of one group or another. This means that services on Holocaust Memorial Day need to be inclusive too, rather than exclusive Jewish affairs that alienate the non-Jewish participant. The fragile social ordering of the assimilationist framework and the myths of the British experience of war are disrupted, like so much of the 'taken for granted' in our world, by the Holocaust. The many ways in which the Holocaust is connected to the history of Britain disrupts the neat divide between the crimes of the Nazis and the plucky courage of Britain, fighting alone against a diseased continent. In the words of David Cesarani in the television programme devoted to the idea of a Holocaust museum in Britain, it is time to bring the Holocaust 'home'.

Appendix:

Sources and Bibliography.

Interviews.

Suzanne Bardgett	Project Co-ordinator, IWM Holocaust Exhibition.
Rickie Burman	Director of LMJL
Focus Group Ken Roman Rose Ellis Stephen Ellis Michael Etkind	Spiro Institute.
Rt. Hon. Reginald Freeson	Chair, Memorial Committee,
Rabbi Hugo Gryn	Holocaust survivor, member of YV(UK)C from 1977-96
Kitty Hart-Moxon	Holocaust survivor.
Ben Helfgott	Chair of YV(UK)C.
Lord Jacobovitz	Former Chief Rabbi.
Rt. Hon. Greville Janner (now Lord Janner)	President of Board of Deputies of British Jews-1979-84. Founder and Chair of Holocaust Educational Trust (H.E.T).
Peter Jennings	General Secretary CCJ 1974-81
Paula Kitchin	H.E.T.
Herbert Levi	Guide, Anne Frank Exhibition.
Peter Medelsohn	H.E.T.
Shirley Murgraff	Spiro Institute for the Study of Jewish History and Culture.
Joanne Rielly	Wiener Library.
Simon Richards	Hyde Park Superintendent

David Rosenberg	Zygielbojm Memorial Committee
Col. Richard Seifert	Architect, designer of Hyde Park Memorial Garden
Stephen Smith	Founder and director of Beth Shalom Holocaust Memorial Centre.
Gena Turgel	Holocaust Survivor
Gillian Walnes	Anne Frank Educational Trust.
Bill Williams	Former Life President, MJM.

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